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The Shape of Things

THE NATION'S SUPPLEMENT ON PALESTINE, which makes up Part II of this issue, outlines the complex scheme of Near East relationships within which the Palestine problem is set. The supplement is an abridged version of a longer memorandum presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the meetings at Flushing* and Lake Success attempts were made to restrict the discussion to the central task for which the special Assembly was called: to select a Commission of Investigation and define its terms of reference. However, as the debate proceeded, it became increasingly difficult to separate substance from procedure. Many of the issues dealt with in the supplement have already been injected into the discussion—the terms of the Mandate, the claims of the Arabs to an independent Arab state in Palestine, the connection between Palestine and the Jewish refugees still in D. P. camps, the case for a Jewish National Home. Moreover, the United Nations sessions brought to the surface some of the underground currents of power politics that have bedeviled attempt after attempt to reach a permanent solution of the Palestine problem. As we go to press, it appears that the terms of reference will be sufficiently broad to allow the commission to do its job effectively. We earnestly suggest that when the field is surveyed and all claims have been examined, the solution recommended to the General Assembly in September should follow the lines laid down in the *Nation* memorandum and supplement: a plan of partition that will allow a fair basis of economic and political existence for Jews and Arabs; an interim plan for trusteeship under a United Nations High Commission; and the immediate facilitation of immigration into the Jewish area of Palestine for the Jewish population now in the camps of Europe. This scheme will not satisfy completely all or any of the elements in the conflict, but given a spirit of tolerance and the firm backing of United Nations authority, we feel it can be made to work.

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THE WILDCAT STRIKE IN THE NATIONALIZED Renault factory, which precipitated the French political crisis, was supported by left Socialist and non-Stalin Marxists, but was originally condemned by the Communists. When the strike assumed major proportions, the Communists, in order to avoid being outflanked on the left, did an about-face. They backed the workers' de-

mands for increased wages, thus threatening the anti-inflation program of the coalition government based on frozen wages and lowered prices. Because this issue vitally affected the material interests of French workers, the Communist deputies were unable to repeat the tactics used in the debates on Indo-China and Madagascar when they opposed the government's policy without breaking the coalition. Instead, they refused a vote of confidence and also refused to quit the coalition, forcing Ramadier either to resign or take the responsibility of a rupture. Ramadier, having won the vote of confidence, chose to eject the Communists. The crisis has clearly exposed the weaknesses inherent in government by party coalition instead of by a parliamentary majority. But its main significance is the split between the two big Marxist parties. The Socialists remain faithful to the "Blum experiment," while the Communists now prefer to exploit the widespread discontent arising from the ineffectiveness of the government's efforts to lower prices. French economic life and reconstruction are utterly dependent on dollar imports. Any further weakening of the franc as a result of increased inflation will doom the Monnet plan. The Communist tactic in the present crisis required that they accept this risk in order to strengthen popular backing at the expense of the Socialists—although the Communists, hoping to have their cake and eat it, hated to leave the government.

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BUT THE SOCIALISTS ALSO FEEL UNEASY. Premier Ramadier's decision to drop the Communist ministers was approved in the Socialist Party Congress by a very narrow margin, and among those who voted against it were some of Blum's most faithful followers. They expressed anxiety lest the government's shift toward the center might later oblige the party itself to move in that direction, risking the loss of a good number of its affiliates and much popular strength. It should not be forgotten that since the Congress of Montrouge a year ago the party has twice reaffirmed its policy of collaboration with the Communists, or that its leadership, including the able Daniel Mayer, was ousted as a result. This time Guy Mollet, who succeeded Mayer, led the opposition to Ramadier. He answered Blum's argument that hesitation would play into the hands of those "who

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by Jack Barrett

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are working to instal personal power"—a clear allusion to De Gaulle—by saying that the best way to meet that danger was to maintain unity between the two big parties of the left. It is not, said Mollet, with the weak Radicals of Herriot and an M. R. P. half republican and half pro-Vatican that the danger of a rightist dictatorship is going to be stopped. But Blum and Ramadier had on their side the terrific argument of France's present financial situation and the danger that a prolongation of the political crisis might lead to economic collapse. As often before in French history, bread had the last word. During the past two years Ambassador Caffrey has asked the State Department time and again for maximum American aid to France. But little was done and that little, too late. American wheat is now going to France but under the widely held suspicion, reported by Harold Callender in the *New York Times*, that its arrival was timed to strengthen the hand of the conservatives and further weaken the now divided left. The announcement of the \$250,000,000 loan to France by the World Bank will help stabilize both the franc and the center coalition.

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THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRIBUNAL IN Nürnberg is to try twenty-four top officials of I. G. Farben, the giant German chemical trust, on charges of fomenting and waging aggressive warfare, mass murder, plunder and spoliation. A 20,000-word indictment filed on May 3 by the chief war-crimes prosecutor, Brigadier-General Telford Taylor, backs these charges with a formidable bill of particulars. It will be difficult for the defense to claim that Farben was just an ordinary business which did no more than obey the instructions of its government. The indictment shows that, even before Hitler came to power, the directors of Farben had reached an agreement with him for mutual support. From a very early date every phase of the trust's production was synchronized with the plans of the German General Staff. Its world-wide organization was completely integrated with the Nazi foreign-propaganda and espionage agencies. Its cartel arrangements with more than 2,000 major industrial concerns in the United States, Britain, and other countries were used to obtain the benefits of foreign patents for the Nazi war machine and to prevent or limit the production of strategic materials in those countries. "No German government could have planned and waged war without the full, wholehearted, and unstinted co-operation of Farben," the indictment declares. And in return for this cooperation the trust reaped rich rewards. Between 1932 and 1942 its profits rose from 71 million marks to 571 million. It shared the loot of the conquered countries. It profited from the exploitation of slave-labor, building a synthetic-rubber plant to employ inmates of the Oswiecim concentration camp, a plant where "sometimes over 100 persons died at their work every day from sheer exhaustion."

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FARBEN'S STORY WOULD BE INCOMPLETE without reference to its agreements with American corporations and we are glad to note that General Taylor has not neglected this subject. "Farben's pre-war activities," we are told, "were carefully designed to weaken the United States as an arsenal of democracy." Specific instances are cited of its arrangements with Alcoa and Dow Chemical, with Du Pont, with Standard Oil of New Jersey, and with other companies. One illuminating transaction mentioned was a "loan" of 500 tons of tetraethyl lead, used for high-octane gasoline, which Farben secured from the Ethyl Export Corporation just before Hitler's march into Czechoslovakia. According to the indictment, the purposes of this deal were "misrepresented." That we can well believe, but the deception of American businessmen in this manner, at a time when even Neville Chamberlain's eyes had been opened, suggests an almost wilful innocence on their part. In fact, the only reasonable excuse that Farben's American collaborators can offer is that they were hoodwinked and outwitted. However, this plea would be damaging to pride and prestige, and some of them are still hoping to get away with bland denials. Robert T. Haslam, vice-president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, declares that his company had no cartel arrangements with Farben, but merely agreements for the purchase and exchange of patents—a fine distinction, indeed, considering Farben's use of patents in suppressing competition. Willard H. Dow, chairman of Dow Chemical, is reported as saying: "We never had any contract with Farben." In view of evidence turned up by the Truman and Bone committees of Dow-Farben agreements limiting Dow's magnesium sales in Europe, this is an amazing statement.

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IF MUTINY IN THE BATTLE FOR PEACE COULD be designated a crime, Representative Taber and his supporters in the House Appropriations Committee would be under indictment. On the meanest of pretexts they have brushed aside Secretary Marshall's able appeal for the State Department's Information and Cultural Service. They have decided that the Voice of America must be silenced, that American libraries of information abroad must be scrapped and that the program of telling the world about the United States through radio, motion picture, graphic arts, and student exchanges must be ended. We have long suspected the economy group in Congress of possessing minds so moronic as to be incapable of appreciating the simplest elements of American culture. But in an age when the new mass media have stepped up the efficiency of international propaganda, we find it incredible that even this group should be willing to leave to the Russians, the British, the French, the Arabs, and the Argentines the responsibility of explaining American foreign and domestic policy to the world. If Mr. Taber's cuts are sustained it will mean that the nation which con-

tributed \$330,000,000,000 to victory in war is prepared to surrender its claim to leadership in the battle for peace in order to "save" \$31,000,000. The House has one more opportunity to redeem itself. By voting for Representative Mundt's bill, now in a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, it can authorize the Senate to restore the foreign-broadcast fund to the State Department's budget.

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AN UNCONFIRMED QUOTATION WITHOUT quotation marks is a journalistic phenomenon to be handled with care, but if Ford Frick's sermon to some St. Louis baseball players was nearly as pithy and as courageous as the statement attributed to him by the New York *Herald Tribune* last Friday, the president of the National League is highly to be praised. "If you do this, you will be suspended from the league," Mr. Frick is reported to have ordered owner Sam Breadon to tell a group of his St. Louis Cardinals who were fomenting a players' strike against the presence in the league of Brooklyn's Negro first baseman, Jack Roosevelt Robinson. And then he is said to have added: "I do not care if half the league strikes. . . . All [who do] will be suspended and I don't care if it wrecks the National League for five years." For the president of a multi-million-dollar industry thus to imperil his own security in the interest of decency is, to say the least, remarkable. "This is the United States of America," Frick's reported declaration continues, "and one citizen has as much right to play as another. The National League will go down the line with Robinson, whatever the consequences. You will find, if you go through with your intention, that you have been guilty of complete madness." Madness, indeed—for, transcending ball parks, paranoia lies at the root of all race prejudices. Those who would fight to eliminate this insanity from where it least belongs, the realm of sport, earn our unqualified admiration. While congratulating Mr. Frick—we hope not prematurely—we extend our compliments to Stanley Woodward and the sports staff of the *Herald Tribune* for breaking the full story. Ford Frick's words, as paraphrased by Mr. Woodward, might well be set in bronze in baseball's Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N. Y.

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"IT OCCURS TO ME AS I LOOK OUT OF THE window"—we are quoting from a letter, dated May 7 and addressed to John Taber, Republican chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, which was deposited on our desk by the north wind—"that if your committee really wants to save the government's money it might cast a weather eye on the Weather Bureau. The bureau's record for the past six weeks has been unimpressive, to say the least. One had only to read the forecasts and then prepare for the exact opposite. (You may have noticed yourself that at least every other day it has

prophesied good Republican weather but all we've had has been Democratic or worse.) What is needed is a return to first principles and the methods of weather forecasting on which this great nation was founded. The Weather Bureau should be abolished. Then the government should make it compulsory for every citizen to put up a weathervane and be his own prophet. This would step up production, foster artistic talent, and insure more accurate forecasts. No one in this country is so untutored as not to know that when the wind blows hard enough to make the leaves turn their backs outward it is going to rain. And no one is so poor, so ill-housed, or so unemployed—the more unemployed the better—as not to be able to go out of doors, lick his finger, hold it up in the air, and determine which way the wind is blowing. (Lacking a finger he could use the nearest politician.)"

New Coalition for Old

IN THE gloom of last November we took what hope we could from a comforting political law, to wit, that winners make tactical blunders and losers make coalitions. The blunders were forthcoming from the start, and now the second and more constructive half of the expectation is beginning to take substance. For at least six of its twelve years, the Roosevelt Administration was harried and blocked by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress. Together they made up a majority and constituted an opposition Congress in all but name. The Republicans found an easy unity in the common desire to discredit their opponents, while the Democrats suffered the splits that go with responsibility. Now the shoe is on the other foot.

The Senate's rejection of the proposal to curtail industry-wide bargaining is not the first defeat for the Taft leadership—confirmation of Lilienthal had that distinction—but it is the first instance of a split in Republican ranks on an issue involving broad policy. It is too early to speak of the combination of forces that beat the G. O. P. leadership as a coalition, but the vote on this crucial aspect of the Senate labor bill indicates a fundamental division of opinion among the Republicans, and one that will inevitably show up again.

Leading the revolt against Taft were Senators Morse of Oregon and Ives of New York. With Aiken of Vermont and Tobey of New Hampshire they constitute the core of the Republican contingent in the potential coalition. To this nucleus are attracted the two Massachusetts Senators, Saltonstall and Lodge, who recently pleaded in private with his fellow-Republicans for "national" thinking rather than partisan; Thye of Minnesota, who represents Stassen much more reliably than does his colleague, Senator Ball; Knowland of California; North Dakota's erratic Langer; and Cooper of Kentucky, who was elected

with the support of the liberal Louisville *Courier-Journal*. For the purpose of defeating the labor amendment they were joined by five others, none of whom can be counted on to stay with the contingent consistently. Vandenberg, who supported Taft in this instance, may be expected to vote with the Democrats on foreign issues and lean over backward to support his own party domestically by way of compensation. With only eleven Democrats siding with the G. O. P. on the Taft amendment, it will be seen that the new grouping could wipe out the Republicans' six-vote advantage and ironically give the Administration more support in the Senate than it enjoyed in the Seventy-ninth Congress.

One cannot assume that this will happen as a regular thing, or that such a coalition would be nearly as solid as the Northern tory-Southern bourbon alliance of recent years, lacking as it does the common target for hatred that Roosevelt so generously provided. But it should make up in shifting personnel what it lacks in consistency. The Hickenloopers and Smiths will join it on issues of common decency, such as the Lilienthal affair; the Vandenburgs, Lodges, and Balls will join it on matters of foreign policy; and at least some of the Westerners, like their colleagues in the House, can be counted on to come in when the party madly tries to cut the heart out of public power and reclamation projects. The cast may shift, but the play will go on.

From this circumstance the Administration may draw several heartening conclusions, at least as far as the Senate is concerned. One is that it need not depend for social legislation on such naive arrangements with the opposition as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill. Elsewhere in this issue Charles Abrams shows how futile—indeed how fatal—such alliances can be. If the President and his lieutenants on Capitol Hill want housing legislation, they would do well to let Taft bury his compromise measure, as he plainly intends to do, call off all deals, and fight for a housing bill that will really mean something. The same goes for the health, education, and other social legislation bearing the Taft trademark.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that while a possible liberal coalition may not be firmly cemented, the G. O. P. has much more to fear from it than the Democrats had to fear from the reactionary one that plagued Roosevelt. It is not so easily put aside. No matter how alienated Southern Congressmen may have been by this or that aspect of the New Deal, their constituents were bound to remain faithful to the Democratic Party and to Roosevelt at election time. Taft cannot afford to be as cavalier, because Republican legislators can be kicked around by the party leadership only up to a point before serious repercussions are reported in the home districts. After all, Republican voters, except perhaps in Maine and Vermont, always have an alternative.

The Mufti's Henchmen

A Who's Who

THE appearance of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee at Lake Success was probably inevitable as soon as the Jewish Agency had won the right to participate in the debate. Although the Arab case had been argued exhaustively by the five member Arab states, nobody challenged the propriety of hearing from representative Palestinian Arabs as well. It was a different and most questionable matter, however, to convene a special sitting of the General Assembly in order to re-issue the invitation to the Arab Higher Committee in a form which would invest that body with the same diplomatic status as the Jewish Agency. The two organizations are totally dissimilar, and the distinction between them should have been recognized.

The functions and representative character of the Jewish Agency were established in the Palestine Mandate; they have been crystallized in twenty-five years of governmental experience. The Agency is an elected body, democratically controlled by Jewish organizations in and out of Palestine. By contrast, the Arab Higher Committee represents nothing more stable than a deal among leaders of the various Arab factions in Palestine—and the will of the Grand Mufti. It has suffered several suppressions, revivals, and reorganizations; only last summer it broke into two rival parts which were later welded together under the absolute control of the Mufti after his mysterious return to Cairo. The Arab Higher Committee has no legal status, no administrative or other governmental functions, no representative character, and the maneuvers that finally landed it on the same juridical level with the Jewish Agency have created a precedent which may cause plenty of trouble later on.

For the legal aspects of the matter cannot be disengaged from the political ones. Once we establish the fact that the Arab Higher Committee is not a representative body but a selected group of Arab politicians, we have to examine the political nature of the men themselves. And when we do this we discover that the Arab Higher Committee is an almost exact equivalent, in Middle Eastern terms, of the cabal that ruled Hitler's Germany.

If this sounds far-fetched, we urge our readers to turn to the record. The story of the Mufti has been widely published, at least in outline. An explicit but condensed account is contained in the memorandum to the General Assembly which appears as a supplement with this issue of *The Nation*. A much fuller account, documented from the captured files of the Mufti himself and of the German high command, has just been submitted to the

General Assembly by the Nation Associates. The documents included in the report are from a collection of many thousand found at the end of the war by the American military authorities in Germany. Most of the originals are in the possession of the Department of State. They substantiate to the last detail the charge that the Mufti not only was an Axis agent throughout the war but was himself largely responsible for the Nazi policy of exterminating the Jews of Europe.

The membership of the Palestine Arab delegation to the Assembly was announced, not in Palestine, but from the Mufti's headquarters in Cairo. The persons named were the following: Emil Ghouri, Henry Katan, Wasef Kamal, Rajai Husseini, Isa Nakhleh, Rasam Khalidi. Among these delegates, four are known as intimate associates of the Mufti in his pro-Axis exploits. It is interesting, however, that the man chosen to present the Arab case last week, Henry Katan (spelled Cattan in the New York press) is the delegate least closely connected with the Mufti. Though less notorious than their chief, these men have dossiers fat with crimes and violent acts of all degrees. We print below a brief "Who's Who" of four of the appointed delegates. It shows better than anything else the political character of the Arab high command. For the record of the Mufti himself, turn to pages 597-600 of the memorandum.

Jamal Husseini, nephew of the Mufti and his right-hand man. Jamal Husseini has been head of the Palestine Arab Party, the Mufti's party, since 1935. He helped the Mufti organize the 1936-39 uprisings in Palestine and in 1939 joined his chief in Bagdad. There he organized the pro-Axis fifth column which brought about the Iraqi rebellion of 1941. With the Mufti he fled to Teheran, but was captured there and interned in Rhodesia on account of his pro-Axis activities. He was finally released in February, 1946, and allowed to return to Palestine, where he became vice-chairman of the Arab Higher Committee.

Emil Ghouri has long been active in extremist politics in Palestine. During the Iraqi revolt he was in charge of propaganda for the Mufti. A British Intelligence report in 1941 cited Ghouri as one of a group "who are responsible for propaganda, intrigue, and subversive activities inside and outside Iraq." After his return to Palestine Ghouri became a member of the Arab Higher Committee, although he had been forbidden to take part in political activities. He is the organizer and political leader of the underground Arab army and is alleged to be one of those responsible for internal terror against Arab opponents of the Mufti and Arabs who sell land to the Jews. He advocates that all Jews who came to Palestine after 1918 be regarded as foreigners and be deprived of rights in an independent Arab Palestine.

Rasem Khalidi, a member of a well-known Jerusalem family and a former Palestine government official, has been a close associate of the Husseini family and particularly of the Mufti. In 1936, at the outbreak of the Axis-sponsored

Arab uprisings in Palestine, he was a member of the most intimate inner circle of Haj Amin el Husseini. In 1937 he was a member of an underground committee which directed Arab terrorism in Palestine. After his arrest in 1938, he fled to Syria and then to Iraq, where he joined the Mufti in organizing the Iraqi rebellion of 1941. After its failure he escaped to Ankara and thence to Italy and Germany. In the midst of the war, in 1943, he served as an announcer on the Axis-Arabic radio station in Athens. Since 1944 he has been a member of the Mufti's personal entourage, first in Berlin and later in Paris and Egypt. He has recently been refused an American visa by the State Department.

Wasef Kamal, a teacher by profession, is known for his extremist propaganda among his students. He was a member of the Arab National Committee in Nablus and played an active role in the organization of the 1936 riots. Arrested in that year, he soon escaped to Transjordan and later to Iraq. With the Mufti, he played an important role in the Iraqi rebellion of 1941 against the British.

From Iraq he escaped to Turkey, where, during the early

part of the war, he served as a paid agent of the German Secret Service. In 1943 he went to Italy and Germany, where he continued his work as one of the closest collaborators of the Mufti. He returned to Syria in April, 1946. He was one of the few Arab leaders excluded from the amnesty of November, 1946, because he was regarded as so dangerous.

In April, 1947, Wasef Kamal was appointed by the Arab Higher Committee a member of a propaganda delegation to the United States. He has been attending the sessions of the United Nations.

Such are the men who claimed—and have received—recognition from the United Nations. Their acts establish their place among the worst of the Axis war criminals. Their legal credentials are pretty poor, but their political credentials are unspeakable. For the United Nations to accept these henchmen of the Mufti as official spokesmen of the Arab cause is to deal with its enemies and the allies of its enemies. The consequences will become even more evident in the months ahead.

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We Need a Better Housing Bill

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

LAST week a death sentence was passed on the housing bill sponsored jointly by Senator Taft and by Democratic Senators Wagner and Ellender. Senator Taft has ruled that a G. O. P. policy committee will pass on all his social legislation and that he will "abide by the composite Republican decision." The chairman of the G. O. P. committee is Senator Taft himself. The composite Republican decision is that there will be no housing bill. Mr. Taft's health bill is ruled out, too. So is his education bill, which like the housing bills had liberal co-sponsorship. A curious alliance between liberalism and reaction to promote social legislation thus meets its end.

More is at stake than aid to housing, health, and education. The question today is whether the chief social issues of the last fourteen years will be properly drawn in the 1948 election. Unless the tactics of the liberals in Congress are shifted to point up these issues in their true focus, the movement for decent housing and for other social legislation will be lost by default and the American people will not even have had a chance to vote their protest.

The lesson, bitter as it is, must be acted upon before it is too late. The coalition must be ended. The Democratic Senators who sponsored the Taft legislation on housing and education should withdraw their names at once and offer measures that truly reflect the people's needs. They must no longer support rump reform bills, whittled down to win the Ohio Senator's co-sponsorship. His apostasy has released them from any obligation to stand

by his dubious credo. Tackled properly and in time, the liberal misadventure can yet be turned into a G. O. P. boomerang. The circumstances behind the strange bedfellowship on housing should be made known to the American people.

The low-rent housing program that is the heart of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is neither revolutionary nor new. It simply proposes another appropriation for slum clearance and housing such as was authorized in 1933, 1937, and 1938. Low-rent housing was never intended as a device for relieving a national housing shortage but was looked to as a means of energizing the economy during the depression and later on as a social reform designed to provide decent shelter for the one-third of the population that was "ill housed." The program was suspended during the war, but as victory drew near Senators Wagner and Ellender prepared to ask for an additional appropriation for local housing authorities. In the course of his own investigation into housing Senator Taft, after extensive hearings, veered toward favoring such a proposal if it could be held down to an experimental authorization.

A bill to provide additional public housing was then drafted and became the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. The dominant purpose of the program was still to aid slum dwellers and to bolster the post-war economy, which was expected to hit a depression during the reconversion period. The depression, however, did not materialize; instead, the end of the war brought a housing famine. After demobilization eighteen million people were living

doubled up, partly because they could not afford homes but mainly because they could not find them. Yet in the face of the most desperate housing shortage in American history, the low-rent housing program was held down substantially to the social program originally planned for the expected slump. The Senator from Ohio would permit no more than a token appropriation under his name. A "yield insurance" program was added, purporting to meet the needs of the long-neglected middle-income group by inducing lending institutions to build with a government guaranty of profits, but little housing was ever expected from that quarter. Another provision authorized mortgage insurance on homes costing \$6,300 or less and reduced the required equity payment to 5 per cent; this also became useless as building costs skyrocketed. With a small authorization for housing research, slum reclamation, mortgage aid, and rural housing included, the bill came to be known as a "comprehensive housing program."

The measure was a compromise. It was experimental, not definitive. Its most important feature was its provisions for clearing slums and providing 500,000 homes for slum families in four years. As the only measure with a chance of passing, it merited support, and received it from social and consumer groups throughout the country. But nothing in the program made even a pretense of solving the veterans' housing problem adequately, brought down costs of home construction as the Wyatt program sought to do, or took care of the housing needs of the low- and middle-income groups on the scale required.

Other measures were needed to supplement it, but these never received party support. One, introduced by Representative Benjamin J. Rabin, would empower the government to continue the emergency war-housing program; another, introduced by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, would authorize the local housing authorities to build for veterans. Enactment of these bills was vital. But liberal support for them might have meant divided support on the "comprehensive" bi-partisan bill. Moreover, since the latter had the approval of the Republican and Democratic leadership as a "comprehensive" housing program, no other bill had a chance of passing. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner measure thus became a bottleneck as well as a banner, and for two years the effort to put through a program suited to America's critical housing needs had to be held under.

It should not be charged that Senator Taft malevolently lured the liberal Senators into their present hapless position. Nor should it be thought that the Ohio Senator was insincere in his sympathy for slum dwellers. After scrutinizing the grim facts of death, disease, and crime in the slums, he saw no other way to shelter the low-income family decently, and somewhat in the tradition of Bismarck and the British Conservatives, he felt it was

entirely realistic to make a token appropriation "for reasons of state."

But if Mr. Taft did not deliberately set out to trap the liberals into surrendering their most dramatic political issue, he could not have rendered a nobler service to the reactionaries in his party than he did by holding down the Democrats' demands and then throttling them. Having taken the wind out of the liberals' sails, he scuttles his ship and leaves his mates tangled up with the jetsam. An issue with the greatest public appeal has been suppressed and devitalized, and the liberal cause in America has been deprived of what might have been one of its most valuable props in the drama of 1948.

The failure of President Truman to give housing the support it needs and his desertion of Wilson W. Wyatt and his program played directly into the hands of Senator Taft and his associates. Any support the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill has received has come from the liberal Democratic Senators and a small group of enlightened Republicans led by Senator Tobey who have insisted on bringing it to the floor. Mr. Taft is now seeking to entomb his own bill.

A housing program to satisfy the nation's minimum needs should be framed immediately. Essential provisions are (1) that the appropriations for public housing contained in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner legislation be quadrupled; (2) that the government be authorized to build housing for all veterans not taken care of by the private builder, at prices they can afford. With mortgage interest reduced to government rates and the amortization period extended, many veterans will at last be able to buy a home. The Rabin and Douglas bills should be adopted or incorporated in a comprehensive measure.

A long-range program must also be prepared. With housing top news today, the American people are prepared to move ahead. There should be a plan to clear every slum within a prescribed period. The defunct home-building industry should be put on a sound footing so that it can meet the demand for homes and fulfil its vital role in the national economy. The Wyatt program, which was a start in that direction, should be revived and expanded by order of the President. A planned, full-scale, federally aided building program sponsored by local housing authorities would help to standardize specifications and make possible quantity building.

Our housing needs in the next fifteen years will be greater than half the present housing supply. If new developments are properly planned, we can have cities worthy of our wealth, our energy, and our culture, cities fit to live in and work in.

Lack of confidence in the housing program of Great Britain's Conservative Party helped to bring about its unexpected overthrow in the wake of its military victory. The same issue, properly presented to the American people, may turn the political tide in America.

Behind the Viet-Nam Revolt

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, May 2

NOTRE politique a cessé d'être claire," and Daniel Halévy in the days of the Third Republic. The *Journal de Genève*, commenting on Holland's difficulties in Indonesia, recalls this remark and adds, "A slackening is taking place in public opinion which signifies indifference, *laissez aller*, lassitude; the controversy yields to enigma and imbroglio." If this is true at The Hague, how much more is it true in Paris with regard to the fighting in Indo-China. It is symptomatic of the present ideological disarray of the French that the problem of Indo-China has become confused beyond words, an issue so controversial that it has rocked the government, while in the country at large one finds only apathy and doubt.

And yet, seen against the background of other events in Asia, in Africa, and on islands overseas, the meaning of Indo-China is almost painfully simple. The nineteenth century was a European century. Respect for property, national sovereignty, the balance of power, and the prerogative of dispensing "civilization" among lesser peoples—these were the assumptions upon which the power of Western Europe was built. But two wars in a single generation have shattered the stability that seemed so permanent. The white man, pitted against himself in ruthless slaughter, has lost face in the eyes of the yellow, black, and brown; he has become bankrupt in lands where with magnificent self-assurance he once bore his "burden." As Paul Reynaud said the other day in the National Assembly, "the two greatest powers today do not possess colonial empires—or have theirs at home—and are hostile to the fact of colonies." The satellite is replacing the colony; and the old empires, instead of yielding to an international order, are falling beneath the blows of new nationalisms.

Indo-China must be looked upon as deriving partly from India and partly from China. Western Indo-China, comprising the provinces of Cambodia and Laos, has for centuries been menaced by aggressive neighbors, the Siamese to the west and the Annamites to the east; the Cambodians and the Laotians have therefore remained mostly loyal to the French, whose protection they need. The eastern part is more Chinese; Viet-Nam, indeed, means "Land of the South"—that is, south of China. The majority of its inhabitants are Annamites conquerors of about two centuries ago who pushed the indigenous population, the Mols, into the mountains.

Since the 1860's, when the French established control over Indo-China, new patterns have been super-

imposed on the old. A whole population of half-breeds, the Eurasians, has grown up. At the turn of the century Indo-China supported barely 17,000,000 natives and 13,000 whites, as compared with 23,000,000 natives, 100,000 Eurasians, and 35,000 French civilians today; and the population has virtually doubled since 1860. A study of the physical changes is beyond the scope of this article; still, the importance of the transformation can best be told with a few figures: In 1860 Saigon exported less than 60,000 tons of rice a year; in 1935 it exported 1,700,000 tons. The rice fields of Cochin-China, which covered 250,000 hectares in 1865, now cover 2,300,000 hectares. In addition, the country has acquired 3,053 kilometers of railways, 32,000 kilometers of roads, and a maximum electrical supply of more than 80,000,000 kilowatt-hours a year.

All these changes are stamped in the very soil of the country; they cannot be conjured away by propaganda or theory. It is begging the question to say that the French colonials are criminals and exploiters, just as it is to claim that the Annamites are butchers and assassins. Indo-China, like any other country, presents a complex design, with large patches of right and wrong clearly discernible.

In reviewing the present situation in Indo-China, the observer is bound to recall certain salient facts, the first of which is that the troubles are a direct outgrowth of the war and the Japanese occupation. In the Orient, where loss of face always has immense consequences, defeat and humiliation such as those suffered by the French will inevitably be paid for dearly. The wonder is not that the resentment of the Annamites exploded when it did, but that the upheaval was not even more violent. The reason may lie in the fact that the Annamites, despite the best efforts of the Japanese, were never fully united against the French; the bulk of them, particularly in the south, like peasants everywhere, were relatively immune to nationalistic agitation, while the more conscious elements were divided into factions. The Viet Minh, in fact, early in 1946 was obliged to eliminate its political rivals, notably the pro-Chinese parties, Cong Minh Hoï and Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dong, before it could effectively organize resistance to the French.

Mystery surrounds the exact nature of the Viet Minh's relations with the Japanese. The Viet-Namites always heatedly maintain that they were as anti-Japanese as anyone; at the recent Asiatic Relations Conference at New Delhi Dr. Thach, Viet-Namite delegate, denied the presence of Japanese elements in the Nationalist

armed forces. The truth seems to be that Viet Minh hostility to the Japanese was never very effective. It is a fact, at any rate, that on August 18, 1945, when the Japanese abandoned their puppet government in Hanoi, they were careful to instal—for although they had capitulated, their unbeaten army still held sway in Indo-China—the Viet Minh in its place. If the French on their arrival were faced with a political *fait accompli*, it was the work of the Japanese. Moreover, the French have found a number of Japanese among the Viet-Nam prisoners they have taken.

As soon as the Viet Minh's leadership in the resistance against the French was established, the movement quickly assumed a national character. And the French, hoping to build an Indo-Chinese federation within the framework of the French Union, recognized the Viet-Nam Republic and invited its President Ho Chi Minh, to Paris. At this distance it is quite impossible to know just how representative the Viet Minh really is. The movement undoubtedly has a powerful appeal, but so long as it indulges in terrorism among the Annamites themselves, and particularly among the Cochinchinese, the extent and sincerity of its backing will remain unknown. The scorched-earth policy so often applied by the Annamites resists automatically contributes to their strength, because when you burn a man's house and the field he works you are in a position to force him to follow your cause. Only a popular plebiscite, free from threat and coercion, could give the answer; but that is obviously out of the question at present.

One thing is certain: Cochinchina is the granary of the country; the other provinces, if cut off from Cochinchina, would either starve or be dependent on supplies from abroad. The day Cochinchina is incorporated into the Viet-Nam Republic, the Viet Minh will dominate the entire federation. The French, understandably enough, have tried to fortify the independent existence of Cochinchina. The Viet-Namites, meanwhile, unable to count on the support of the Cochinchinese peasants, are doing all they can to carry the war into the recalcitrant territory. Their leading agitators in the southern province are one Pham Van Bach, a man with a very bad record as an informer, assassin, and master mind of the Cam-Tu ("Volunteers of Death"), and the revolutionary condottiero, Nguyen Binh, released from the Poulo-Condor prison by the Japanese and already a legendary figure. The control of Cochinchina is the central issue of the struggle and one that will be extremely hard to settle by negotiation.

But the vital problem for the French is how to put an end to the war. The complete pacification of Indo-China would take long, hard fighting and put a terrible drain on France's limited resources. Equally unacceptable would be complete withdrawal; no French statesman,

not even a Communist, would suggest such a solution. There remains one alternative—negotiation. But with whom? France, it is true, recognized the Viet-Nam Republic but that was before the Viet-Namites, in defiance of their pledged word and without claiming any breach on the part of France, attacked the French at Hanoi on December 19 last. That the attack had been planned well in advance has been proved; tunnels had even been dug between houses so that the Viet-Namites might move freely from one part of the city to another. If General Morlière, getting wind of the attack a few hours before it was launched, had not, for a second time, sent his troops to their barracks, it is probable that the French would have lost the city in a bloody fight.

Dr. Thach, in New Delhi, produced documents purporting to show that the French had attacked first at Hanoi; he further claimed that the French troops had massacred a whole quarter of Hanoi on December 17. The best that can be said of Dr. Thach's charges is that they are untrue. On December 17 the French forces were still confined to their barracks. Moreover, General Morlière was in touch with Ho Chi Minh up to the last moment before the attack and on the very morning of December 19 had received a letter from the Viet-Namites leader in which nothing was said either of the destroyed quarter of Hanoi or of an impending rupture. It is inconceivable that a Socialist government of France would have authorized an unprovoked coup d'état against the Viet-Nam.

Whatever may be the truth about the events of December 19, it will be difficult for the French government to negotiate with President Ho. Various peace overtures, allegedly signed by him, have been proved to be forgeries. For weeks he was rumored to have been killed. At any rate he was out of contact with the French. But it remains a fact that the Viet Minh leader, if he is alive, is the one man who could probably bring the rebellion to an end.

A new High Commissioner, M. Bollaert, has recently arrived in Saigon, replacing Admiral d'Argenlieu. M. Bollaert, an eminent and highly respected civil servant, has been making strenuous efforts to break through the barrier of suspicion and continuing warfare and arrive at a settlement with the Viet-Namites. Latest Saigon dispatches say that envoys from President Ho Chi Minh are in touch with him, while one story gives what purports to be the substance of an "interview" with President Ho sent out from his secret radio station in the mountains of Tonking. In it he expressed his sympathy for "French democrats" and invited a French Parliamentary delegation to visit Indo-China. If M. Bollaert can find some basis for negotiation with the Viet-Nam, France will have good reason to be grateful. The present tragic situation serves only the partisan interests of politicians and pamphleteers, both right and left.

Next Steps in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

WITH Secretary Marshall's return from Moscow there was bound to be an increased demand for a "clarification" of our China policy. President Truman's program of military aid to Greece and Turkey has already aroused considerable grumbling among right-wing Republicans. They argue that if it is essential to bolster up reactionary governments in the Middle East to check the spread of communism, similar action is even more essential in the Far East, where America's interests are more deeply involved. Moreover, it is asserted in some quarters that the reorganized Nanking government is essentially the kind of government that Marshall was working for, even though the Democratic League and the Communists do not participate.

A year ago most observers felt that with American aid China was well on the road to democracy and internal unity. The subsequent collapse of the Marshall mission represented a grave setback for post-war American diplomacy. But before embarking on a new policy, we should try to see just why our attempt at mediation failed.

There is abundant evidence to support General Marshall's contention that a "dominant group of reactionaries" within the Kuomintang skilfully sabotaged all his efforts. The Communists also, in recent months at least, have shown little disposition to compromise. It would be easy to conclude therefore that Marshall's efforts were foredoomed to failure. Some right-wing critics, indeed, have insisted that his program was unsound from the beginning, that an effort to set up a coalition including the Communists was as ridiculous as a similar effort would be in this country.

The most direct answer to this contention is the fact, attested by all responsible observers, that the Chinese Communist Party has an immense amount of popular support. As long as it is barred from participation in the government, there will continue to be, for all practical purposes, two Chinas. The new government, despite the inclusion of some representatives of the Young China and Social Democratic parties, is dominated not only by the Kuomintang but by those elements in the Kuomintang which Secretary Marshall described as "reactionaries." When T. V. Soong was dropped, the one significant progressive influence was eliminated.

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Whether Marshall's efforts ever had any chance of success will never be known. Marshall himself was highly regarded by both sides, but American aid to the Kuomintang spoke louder than his scrupulously impartial words. Some estimates place its value at \$3,000,000,000—including the cost of training and equipping fifty-seven Kuomintang army divisions which have been used in the civil war. President Truman made it considerably less in his statement of December, 1946; his figures indicate a minimum of \$1,491,000,000 in American aid to the Kuomintang since V-J Day and a little more than half that amount during the war. This excludes UNRRA assistance, which, though entirely non-military, has gone almost exclusively to Kuomintang areas and has been used in part to bolster up the tottering Kuomintang fiscal and economic structure.

Much of our aid was given, or arranged for, before General Marshall went to China. The transportation of Kuomintang troops to Shanghai and North China and the intervention of American marines were planned by Ambassador Hurley and General Wedemeyer as part of their policy of supporting the Kuomintang against the Communists. But this aid did not cease when Marshall became ambassador: he himself seems to have furthered the transportation of Kuomintang troops to Manchuria and the establishment of MAGIC, the American Military Mission which is still helping the Nationalists' army. Although Marshall subsequently held up the \$500,000,000 American loan and brought about the withdrawal of the marines, the continuance of support to the Kuomintang long after the government showed it had no intention of accepting the January agreements caused the Communists to doubt American sincerity. The Kuomintang at the same time was convinced that we would support it in any eventuality as a potential ally against the Soviet Union. As long as the notion persisted among Kuomintang and Communist supporters that the Chinese internal struggle was inextricably bound up with the larger American-Soviet struggle for world influence, Marshall's role as a mediator was an impossible one.

The present American policy toward China is essentially no policy at all. We have abandoned our efforts at mediation because there was nothing else to be done. Our marines are being withdrawn because they were achieving nothing and were a source of constant irritation. The \$500,000,000 loan is being held up because it would clearly be of no more value than water poured down a drain in stabilizing China's desperate political and economic situation.

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SHALL WE SUPPORT CHIANG KAI-SHEK?

Faced by an ever-widening civil conflict and an ever-deepening economic crisis in China, the United States has three possible courses of action: (1) we could openly espouse one side or the other in the civil war and utilize our economic and military resources to force a quick decision; (2) we could withdraw completely and allow China to settle its own problems; or (3) we could seek Soviet and possibly British cooperation in a new attempt at mediation.

Senator Vandenberg, spokesman on foreign policy for the Republican Party, has urged the first course of action. Speaking before the Cleveland Council of World Affairs in January, he asked for open support of the Chiang Kai-shek regime on the theory that this alone offers a route to "a strong and competent China." Other Congressmen have urged similar action to make our China policy consistent with our position on Greece and Turkey. It should be recognized, however, that this is not a new or untried policy. It was former Ambassador Hurley's at a time when the United States had substantial military forces in China which could be used to carry it out. Yet the Kuomintang proved incapable of unifying or pacifying the country. No amount of aid from the United States can wholly make up for its lack of support among the Chinese people. If we want to perpetuate civil conflict in China and risk the possibility of its spreading into a world conflagration, we need only return to the Hurley policies.

At first glance it may be supposed that we have already adopted the second, or "hands-off," policy with respect to China's civil war. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Although the marines in Peiping and Tientsin are scheduled to be withdrawn, from one to two thousand will remain at Tsingtao, where the American navy is helping the Kuomintang build up a respectable naval force. The United States has already supplied the government with twenty-two large and medium landing craft and fifty smaller vessels, and President Truman has just announced that additional ships are being turned over, "accompanied by a limited complement of naval personnel." In addition, the American Military Mission at Nanking, consisting of 750 officers and men, is still training future Kuomintang officers in the use of modern military weapons. Other units are stationed throughout China to facilitate the transfer of surplus military property to the Kuomintang. We should make our withdrawal absolute, terminate standing arrangements, and refuse to enter into new commitments until an all-party government has been established.

To abandon China at a time when the country's economy is utterly prostrate under the combined impact of war and inflation may seem to some an unnecessarily harsh action. Undoubtedly millions of people will starve unless China gets aid from abroad. Yet the record of the

past year should convince even the most soft-hearted that further aid to the Kuomintang will not in the long run save lives. Even international relief, when distributed by a government agency, may be utilized, as UNRRA workers have recognized, as a political and military weapon. Before governmental relief can be of value, the primary conditions which make for starvation—that is, Kuomintang corruption and civil strife—must be eliminated.

Meanwhile, China's suffering can be alleviated to some extent by private relief through such agencies as the United Service to China, the Industrial Cooperatives, and various other American charitable organizations. Assistance given through these channels reaches all parts of China, including the Communist areas, and may help to strengthen the various educational and social-welfare groups that constitute the most potent democratic force within the country—groups operating under unimaginable handicaps because of war conditions.

There is ground for hope that the cessation of American governmental aid will force Chiang Kai-shek to give up his plans for all-out civil war and resume negotiations. The Nanking government's financial position is precarious. Nearly half of its nine-trillion-dollar (Chinese currency) budget is earmarked for military purposes. The budget provides for a two-trillion-dollar deficit, which is to be covered by the issuance of paper currency, but the actual deficit is expected to be much greater. Because the exchange rate has been pegged at a point which greatly overvalues Chinese currency, exports from China have been negligible since V-J Day. Although China's foreign-exchange position was excellent at the end of the war, heavy purchases abroad without corresponding sales of Chinese goods have largely absorbed the war-time surplus and left the country in a critical situation. The vast surplus stocks of war supplies obtained from the United States have lost much of their value because China is unable to service modern equipment and keep it in repair. It is reported, for example, that the Chinese air force may have to be grounded in a few weeks owing to poor maintenance facilities and a shortage of spare parts. Crack divisions that have been trained and equipped by the American army are said to lose the greater part of their efficiency within a few months after reverting to the control of old-line officers.

OR TRY INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION?

The sudden cutting off of all American aid to both of China's parties should be accompanied by a program of international mediation. As we have seen, the prospects for further mediation by one country, such as was attempted by General Marshall, are very poor. However, if the United States, Britain, and Russia could reach an agreement under U. N. auspices for implementing the Moscow Declaration of 1945, it is difficult to see how

any Chinese political group could hold out against their combined moral and economic pressure. A bi-partisan proposal for such an undertaking was made recently by Representative Mansfield, on his return from an extensive tour of China and other Pacific countries, and by Senators Murray and Flanders.

Most of the objections that have been advanced against this proposal stem from the fear that Russia and the United States could not reach an agreement and that the effort would create new tensions between them. It is a matter of record, however, that the two countries did agree to a general statement of policy at the last Moscow conference and that this policy is almost identical with that earlier set forth by President Truman. Because of its geographical proximity, Russia has a greater stake in Chinese stability than any other country, not excepting the United States. Regardless of its sympathies, which are not too clear, it has scrupulously refrained—as General

Marshall has attested—from giving material assistance to either of the warring factions. And it acted long before the United States to carry out the Moscow commitment for the withdrawal of American and Soviet troops. There is reason to believe, moreover, that Russia is prepared to advance substantial aid, as provided in the Sino-Soviet treaty, to a unified democratic regime.

If it were clear that the United States, Britain, and Russia were in complete agreement regarding China, so that there was no possibility of playing one against the other, the Democratic League and the other middle parties of China, which have a tremendous though unorganized following, would be greatly strengthened against the extremists. While these middle parties are wholly incapable of ruling China under present conditions, they can, if sufficiently strengthened, exercise an effective balance of power and save the country from the catastrophe that otherwise seems inevitable.

A Faith to Live By

III. "At the End of the Crisis, a New World . . ."

BY JACQUES MARITAIN

A FAITH to live by? I wonder whether these words satisfactorily present the question. What is necessary? What do we desperately need? A faith to live by? Or a faith to live for, a faith to live and die for? Just because our very life is at stake we are compelled to rediscover a faith to live and die for.

In the conception of many of our contemporaries faith, a faith to live by, far from being defined by any intrinsic and incontrovertible truth superior to man and human life, is merely something measured by human feeling or human needs, and destined to comfort human life's intellectual and social order, man's security in gaining possession of the earth and mastery over nature. From the time of Descartes and John Locke to the present, faith in God progressively became, for a great number of men, such a faith to live by. Finally, the religious feeling shifted to the cult of man. Our forebears undertook and pursued, with infinite hopefulness, a courageous, stubborn, and bright search for a faith to live by, which was a faith in man. This faith, during some decades, seemed all-powerful and produced splen-

did, though brittle achievements. The blunt fact, the terrible fact, is that we have lost faith in man.

If such a state of despair had endured, Hitler would have won the war. For the deepest trend of Nazism, its burning lust, was to vilify man, to have man accept his own baseness and vacuity, to renounce humanity. Europe and the world saw this hell and are still wounded by the vision. Wittingly or unwittingly, in the hidden psyche of common life men are losing faith in man.

What is termed today atheistic existentialism is the clearest symptom of this fact. Kierkegaard's existentialism was the anguish of faith searching for incomprehensible and unspeakable reality. Even Heidegger's existentialism searches for the mystery of being through the heartrending experience of nothingness. But atheistic existentialism, such as has been heralded in recent years by writers who are but submissive mirrors of their time, does not reflect the anguish of man confronting nothingness; it reflects and declares the longing of man for nothingness. It expresses the temptation and desire *not to be any longer*. Yet this is impossible. Longing for nothingness and condemned to be, man abandons himself.

Communism, which is the ultimate vicissitude of anthropocentric rationalism, endeavors indeed to save faith in man and offers itself as the last hope of optimism. Its optimism, however, is the optimism of the titanic and coercive energies of matter and technique; its man is totally subservient to the fate of history embodied in

JACQUES MARITAIN, the distinguished French philosopher, has specialized in the system of St. Thomas. He was visiting professor at Columbia University during the war and is now French ambassador to the Vatican.

a social group. Faith in man, yes, but in what kind of man? However sincere and generous may be the faith in man of many Communists, they do not see that in their system the real man, the human being, is sacrificed to a mutilated image of the greatness of man.

Well, does despair, then, have the last word? Are we hemmed in by a tragedy?

As a matter of fact, reason demands that we have faith in man. Let us turn from the present world of man and look at the world of nature—I mean with an unsophisticated gaze. We see that, despite the all-pervading law of struggle and conflict, nature in its depths is permeated with an abysmal, supra-individual, and inescapable peace, which is the root goodness and the universal strength of being. And man, as part of nature, has an essence which is good itself. We see that the evolution of the cosmos and mankind is an interminable, though constantly thwarted, movement toward higher forms of life and consciousness, and that from the age of the cave man, the slow and painful progress of mankind testifies to energies in man which make any contempt of the human race childish and presumptuous. Consider with a little love any individual whatever in the anonymous common mass of poor humanity. The better you know him, the more you discover in him hidden resources of goodness that evil has been unable to destroy. Man's difficult condition comes from the fact that he is not only a creature of nature but also one of reason and freedom—elements which are weak in him and yet are his indestructible fortitude and tokens of his abiding dignity. No failures or stains can efface his original greatness.

Yes, we see that we must have faith in man. But we cannot. Our experience keeps reason in check. The present world of man has been for us a revelation of evil; it has shattered our confidence. We have seen too many crimes for which no just revenge can compensate, too many deaths in desperation, too sordid a debasement of human nature. Our vision of man has been covered over by the unforgettable image of the bloody ghosts in extermination camps. German sadism has let devils loose everywhere. Everything we loved seems to have been poisoned; everything in which we trusted seems to have failed. Science and progress are turned to our own destruction. Our very being is threatened by mental and moral atomization. Our very language has been perverted: all our words have become ambiguous and seem only able to convey deception. We live in Kafka's world. Where is our faith to live by?

Perhaps we have chosen the wrong road. Perhaps we would have done better to cling to a faith to live and die for, instead of seeking a faith to live by alone. Old pagan wisdom knew that man has his noblest, happiest, and most human aspect appendant to what is supra-

human, and that he can only live *by* what he lives *for* and is ready to die for, and is better than himself. If our humanism has failed, it is perhaps because it was centered in man alone, and was utilitarian, not heroic; because it tried to relegate death and evil to oblivion, instead of facing them and overcoming them by an ascent of soul into eternal life; because it trusted in techniques instead of in love, I mean in Gospel love.

St. Paul says that faith is the assurance of things hoped for and goes on to say that it is a conviction of things not seen. Faith is an adherence to superhuman truth, an entrance into the realm of invisible and divine things; faith makes our whole life appendant to a living Whole which is infinitely better and more lovable than our own life; faith is a meeting with a Person who is Truth itself and Love itself, and to Whom the giving of oneself results in supreme freedom, and in Whom dying results in indestructible life.

Then we live for truth, and that truth for which we live is stronger than the world. Then we live for love, and that love for which we live has made the world and will finally renew and transfigure it. Then we are free, and nothing in the world can break our faith.

And this God Who is Truth and Love has made man to His image. He has destined man to share in His own life. His Son died to save man. Despite all the catastrophes that man's failures and refusals cause, He leads man's history toward godlike fulfilment and transfiguration. Such is the greatness of man. Here is the rock of our faith in him.

Thus faith in man revives if it is rooted in the supra-human. Faith in man is saved by faith in God.

Human history moves in a definite direction. It depends on both natural and spiritual energies, and among all kinds of conflicts it tends to the natural fulfilment of mankind—namely, the progressive manifestation of the essence and potentialities of man, the progressive development of the structures of his knowledge, his moral conscience, and his social life, mankind's progressive conquest of unity and freedom. And it tends also to a spiritual fulfilment which is supra-temporal and transcends history, and which the Christian considers to be the kingdom of God and the revelation of the sons of God. Though inseparably intermingled, these two trends of history relate to two thoroughly distinct orders, and often the weakness of man opposes the one while furthering the other. And contrary to them, evil also develops in history; so that a downward movement causes losses to increase at the same time as an upward movement causes the sap of the world to produce better fruits. In the happiest periods of history evil is at work in what is obscured. In the darkest eras the good is invisibly preparing unforeseeable conquests. And good is stronger than evil. Finally the saying of the Scriptures will be fulfilled: Tell the righteous that everything is well. In

old Jewish apocalyptic writings it was stated that the age of the sufferings of the Messiah would be the age of his greatest victories.

In presenting his book, "On the Threshold of the Apocalypse," to one of his readers some thirty years ago, Léon Bloy wrote on the first page: "*Cher ami, donnez-vous le peine d'entrer*" ("Dear friend, pray cross the threshold"). It seems that, as a matter of fact, we did cross. Our age appears as an apocalyptic age, a liquidation of several centuries of history. We are picking the grapes of wrath. We have not finished suffering. But at the end of the crisis a new world will emerge.

Then experience—that very experience which jeopardized our faith in man—is transfigured. It assumes a meaning. It is not the revelation of the absurdity of existence but of the pangs and travail of history, not the revelation of the root baseness and contemptibleness of man but of his distress laid bare when he falls from his pride, and of the trials and catastrophes through which the abiding greatness of his destiny asserts itself.

A historical liquidation such as the one we are undergoing does not take place in one day. Time is necessary to make reason able to control the formidable material means which industrial and technological revolution has put in our frail hands. Time is necessary to stir up, from the depths of human bewilderment, the moral and spiritual revolution that is incomparably more needed than any other revolution. For nothing less is required

than a terrestrial triumph of Gospel inspiration in the social behavior of mankind. We do not lose hope. The renewal of civilization that we hope for, the age of integral humanism, the time when science and wisdom are to be reconciled, the advent of a fraternal commonwealth and of true human emancipation—all this we do not await on the morrow. But we await them on the day after the morrow, at that moment which St. Paul announced would be the splendor and resurrection of the world.

Every effort made in this direction will finally bear fruit. I refer not only to the spiritual struggle of those who have heard, as Henri Bergson put it, the call of the hero, and who awaken men to evangelic love, but also to the temporal struggle of all those—scientists like Pasteur or Washington Carver, poets like Walt Whitman, Hugo, or Peguy, pioneers of social justice like the "radicals" called up by Saul Alinsky—who give themselves to the improvement and illumination of their brothers' lives, and who can know no rest as long as their brothers are in enslavement and misery. Even if the general state of the world and our stock of accumulated errors prevent such efforts from overcoming at present the evils which are streaming in from everywhere, they are preparing an era, under God, of greater dignity for man and of expanding love.

Such is the faith we live for, and, because we live for it, the faith we live by.

Europe This Summer?

BY HORACE SUTTON

OME countries in Europe have been having a rather difficult time lately, deciding whether they shall invite or discourage America's eager travelers this summer. To be sure, dollar credits are greatly coveted, but a disgruntled tourist is a poor advertisement, and a hungry population may make an apathetic host.

Great Britain has released an official announcement that tourists will not only be encouraged but urged to go to Britain in 1947, and visas will be freely granted. But from London comes another voice. The British Automobile Association, like the British Caterers, has publicly expressed its opposition to visits by American tourists this year. It holds that some 70,000 Britons, wearied by years of sacrifices, would have to give up their own holidays to accommodate the visitors and that the accommodations and food would be meager in any case.

HORACE SUTTON will contribute monthly articles on travel to The Nation.

An invitation has come from Spain. "The Spanish government welcomes whole-heartedly the prospect of American tourists visiting Spain in the near future," says the official release. But only last month the government of Spain instructed an American newspaperman to turn in his credentials as the penalty for filing dispatches that deviated from the official line. While the ordinary tourist would not be bothered in this particular way, the atmosphere of the dictatorship would surely oppress all but the most thick-skinned. And travel conditions are described by recent visitors as impossible. Spain lacks even the first virtue of a fascist state: its trains do not run on time.

"Under existing conditions," says Sweden, "tourists can be accommodated only in limited numbers." Norway says, "Every effort is being exerted, etc." Denmark regrets; Czechoslovakia is still rationed; the Netherlands says anxiously, please, please, make advance reservations. Belgium, on the other hand, with 40,000 rooms available, describes itself as "eager." And France, amid

May 17, 1947

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the doubt, dissuasions, and admonitions, has dusted off the old red carpet and rolled it out to welcome 300,000 American tourists this year.

I dropped over to see the "director of public information" of the French National Tourist Office as he stepped from the boat last week. He is Norman Reader, a young and husky American with graying hair and quiet manners. A public-relations man in the Army Air Forces during the war, Mr. Reader managed to get himself "readjusted" in a job that has just required him to spend six weeks, expenses paid, on a tour of French resort centers from Paris to Chamonix and from Deauville to the Riviera. He asserts unequivocally that France could accept 300,000 tourists this year, but adds that shortage of transportation will cut this number to about 60,000. There are only nine passenger liners on the North Atlantic run—the America, Queen Elizabeth, Mauritania, Gripsholm, Drottningholm, Noordam, Westerdam, Veendam, and Stavangerfjord. Three American and four foreign air lines use sixty-seven planes for a total of fifty-five weekly flights each way. The ships are sold out in spite of overcrowding and high prices, and transatlantic plane traffic has recently taken a tremendous spurt.

Travel to France requires a passport, and if you are going for pleasure you must show confirmed round-trip passage before our State Department will let you go. Business travelers are not required to show return passage, but they must have a letter from their firm stating what their business abroad is. Everyone must have a visa, obtainable at any French consulate upon payment of a nominal fee. Francs are exchanged abroad at a legal rate of 120 to the dollar, and Mr. Reader says carry travelers' checks or a letter of credit. You may bring all the money you want, but it is unlawful to have bills in larger denominations than \$20. France wishes that tourists would avoid the black market in changing their dollars. This will be easier to do now that the illegal rate has come so close to the legal one.

Mr. Reader's best piece of advice is to visit the small places in France first and then wind up your trip in Paris. The large, well-known hotels and night clubs are expensive, and unfortunately these are the ones Americans visit first. "It is going to be hard to educate Americans not to spend all their time in Paris," he says. Once Mr. Reader had a lunch for which he paid 325 francs. A clerk in his Paris office said, "That's about what I make in a day." It is possible, however, to eat in what we might call a white-collar luncheonette for as little as 80 francs. It is also possible—as Mr. Reader discovered—to have a bite at La Tour d'Argent, about the best place in Paris, for considerably more. His check was 3,000 francs.

In Paris do your traveling by cab in the morning. Where there were once 20,000 taxis, there are now only 8,000 in operation. The drivers work until their gas tank is exhausted and then quit for the day. Use the



Drawing by Duty
Chateau of Vernet-les-Bains

metro, Mr. Reader advises. It is intact, costs only four francs, and is infinitely easier for a New Yorker than the New York subway system. To learn where to eat and sleep in Paris, apply to the government information offices, which are preparing a list of moderate-priced hotels. The better-known restaurants, like Perifourdine, the Prunier, Relais de la Belle Aurore, all charge between 900 and 1,500 francs for dinner. Rooms in average Paris hotels are 450 francs a day; fancier places like the Hotel George V are 1,100 francs a day. The Paris theater is flourishing, and the biggest hit is "'The Eagle Has Two Heads," a resounding flop in New York when it opened with Tallulah Bankhead.

At Deauville, where the seasons starts in June, literally every square foot of ground has been turned up in a search for mines. The theaters, gambling casinos, beaches, and golf courses await their first big year. The Riviera is in excellent condition, and good hotels in Nice charge about 400 francs a day for a room. There are pensions outside, however, where one can live, with food included, for the same price. In Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, ordinary hotels charge 150 francs a night for lodging.

Air-France operates a number of routes within the country, Mr. Reader reports, and the French railroads have done a miraculous job of rebuilding. Traveling conditions, he says, are pretty good though trains are badly crowded. In Avignon a young colonel in the French army invited him to lunch and topped off the meal with an especially prepared cake surmounted with an American flag. "Contrary to what a lot of Americans believe, the French are deeply appreciative of what Americans did in the war and they speak of it all the time," Reader says. In Normandy many streets are marked with names of American enlisted men. A sign will read: "Pvt. Edwin Crowe Road." No hotels are being built near the battlefields, which it is hoped will not be commercialized. Excursions are run from centers like Deauville. The cemeteries are beautifully kept, the graves well marked; many are set with flowers.

DIRTY DEALS IN SPAIN

TWO weeks ago I said that General Franco would never have dared challenge the United Nations with his cynical Law of Succession if he had not been encouraged by changes in the British and American attitude toward Spain. After months of very timid attempts by Anglo-American diplomacy to persuade the Spanish dictator to turn his job over to a kind of monarchist-military-clerical salvage brigade, London and Washington have swung back to their original policy of helping Franco stay in power. The Foreign Office gave the signal by signing a new monetary agreement with Spain on March 28. The State Department responded by sending to Madrid the able chief of its Division of Western European Affairs, Paul T. Culbertson. The department release of May 9 denying any change of policy toward Madrid was an inescapable consequence of the indiscretions of the Spanish press, which has been insisting that the Truman Doctrine was about to embrace fascist Spain. This statement, however, does not deny the many well-established reports of other and more indirect kinds of American help for Franco.

The White Paper announcing the Anglo-Spanish agreement was described by several British publications as a clear attempt—to use the words of the *Observer*—"to strengthen Franco's hand" in dealing with intensified guerrilla activities, pressing demands from the monarchists, and an economic collapse which was shaking the frail supports of the regime. In terms of direct British interests the deal makes almost no sense, yielding at best somewhere around ten million pounds. But for Franco, the British announcement of an agreement for reciprocal credits, no matter what the amount, was the best news since the end of the war.

For an entire week the Falangist radio entertained the country with comments on the accord. Actually it had no need to blow its trumpets. Throughout Spain, from Falangist headquarters to the jails, filled with new drafts of political prisoners in the worst wave of repression since 1939, everybody understood exactly what the agreement implied. By proclaiming its determination to back the fascist regime until further notice, the Foreign Office had extended an informal invitation to Franco to issue his latest decree ordering the death sentence for such crimes as "planning to carry out sabotage, kidnaping, or any act that might be construed as terrorism," or "belonging to a guerrilla band." This order is an omen of the horrid things to come. Even before it was issued, the persons executed since January 1 of this year numbered officially 107—I repeat, officially, for the real figures are much greater.

To receive a diplomat like Mr. Culbertson in Madrid has been another triumph for Franco. The immediate, logical consequence of this and the British move has been the renewal of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Spain. The government press in La Paz quite frankly explains: "Since the great powers [Great Britain and the United States] have again begun to deal with Franco, there is no reason why the smaller powers should renounce such advantages." Madrid was prompt to suggest that Bolivia was only the first of the Latin

American countries to "regularize" its relations with Spain.

Innumerable signs in the Spanish radio and press indicate that Franco now considers himself not merely a potential ally, as in the recent past, but a full partner in the Truman plan to mobilize all world forces against communism. Dressed in his new attire as the *Cid Campeador* of modern Spain, he is prepared, in the name of Christianity, to kill more Spaniards in the next few months than he has killed in the two preceding years.

Last December the United Nations adopted a resolution that committed them to action. Those nations that voted the resolution in good faith, with a sense of respect for the international organization and its decisions, are beginning to ask when Secretary General Lie is going to report on what has been done to carry out their decision.

When the question comes up, we probably shall hear Senator Connally or his successor again protesting in behalf of the "wonderful, proud, sensitive, patriotic, heroic people of Spain," who resent so greatly any foreign interference in their affairs. But before aggravating his support of Franco with a mockery of the Spanish people, the American spokesman should read what the liberal Catholic writer, Francis E. McMahon, said in the *New York Post* on April 30 just after his return from Madrid: "Before going to Spain I was half inclined to believe that outside pressures help the Franco regime, that the Spanish people resent interference by other powers to oust Franco. There had been talk about Spanish pride and Spanish determination to settle scores with Franco by themselves. I know better now. The anti-Franco elements of Spain want not less action from the outside but more." I could complete Dr. McMahon's remarks by saying that what the anti-Franco elements of Spain want is merely that the Western democracies stop their intervention in favor of Franco and fulfil their obligations toward the United Nations. Nothing more and nothing less.

Meanwhile violence in Spain is increasing. The strike in Bilbao, involving more than 50,000 men, was the first mass revolt since Franco took power. Its political character is clearly evident from the courageous statement of the strike committee: "The movement is mainly a protest against a corrupt regime, to hasten the fall of the tyranny which oppresses us all."

All Spain begins to feel that way. Only the other day I had a letter from an old Socialist friend in Spain with whom I have disagreed in recent years because he has favored a policy of compromise, even at the cost of the Republic, in order to avoid new slaughter. He now writes: "In the last few months I have been more and more revising my former position. Spain could have been made free without the spilling of more blood, and only those of us who have been here all the time know how strong was the wish that this might happen. But Britain and America have not wanted it. They are again for Franco, and they will oblige us to fight like cornered jackals. It's going to be terrible. But we shall fight."

DEL VAYO



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Prayer, Profits, and Pie

THE forty-fifth annual meeting of stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation on May 5 opened with prayer and ended with sandwiches, coffee, and custard pie. The prayer—a plea for divine blessings and guidance—was an innovation at these gatherings. It failed, so far as I could observe, to influence the tone of the proceedings, which was quite normally materialistic. The pie, a traditional bonus for Big Steel stockholders, undoubtedly has symbolic significance. Most of the three-hour discussion which preceded its consumption was concerned with the division of the corporation's production pie, and the sense of the meeting was that the stockholders' slice was far too small.

One stockholder who expressed this view—he described himself as a "Nassau County Republican"—suggested that the directors were so intimidated by the "Washington crackpots" that even if the corporation earned \$15 per common share in 1947, they wouldn't dare to pay out as much as \$10 in dividends. He urged, therefore, that the stock be split four for one so as to increase the number of "tool-owners" interested in the business—a potential political-pressure group. On the present dividend basis, he pointed out, that would mean payment of \$1 a share, which would appear much more modest than \$4, and it might prove possible "to sneak another fifty cents onto it."

Earlier, Chairman Irving S. Olds, in the course of a lengthy review of the company's affairs, made it clear that he was not cooperating in President Truman's campaign to bring down prices. Proceeds from sales, he declared, must be sufficient to cover all costs, permit payment of fair dividends, and leave something for future capital needs: on this basis current prices were reasonable and profits not excessive. In fact, he hinted, if the newest round of wage increases led to a substantial addition to the cost of goods and services purchased by the corporation, it might be necessary to raise prices. On the other hand, it might well be argued that a reduction in steel prices would mean reduced costs for most industries, including many of those from which United States Steel purchases supplies.

An even more important consideration is the influence of prices on demand. At the present time there is a market for every ton of steel that can be squeezed out of the furnaces, and the industry is operating at very nearly 100 per cent of capacity. Consequently, overhead charges per ton, one of the major elements in steel costs, are being held to a minimum, with very favorable effects on profits. But the current demand will not be long maintained unless the gap between income and production generally is closed by the downward revision of prices for which the Administration is pressing. That will hardly be possible without a cut in the price of so basic a commodity as steel.

In this matter, however, the management of United States Steel seems to be adopting a thoroughly defeatist attitude. The corporation's annual report asserts that the long-term outlook is for the average use of about two-thirds of capacity. This would mean shipments of finished products at an average rate little higher than that for the years 1919 to 1942. And since there is a close correlation between steel output and total industrial production, this estimate indicates disbelief in our ability to maintain national income and employment at their present high levels.

Although the report thus indicated little expectation of future growth, Mr. Olds in his speech made numerous references to the need to maintain earnings at a level which would provide a margin for expansion. He did not explain this apparent contradiction. Instead he rebuked critics for not paying sufficient attention to the relation of profits to sales and invested capital. In 1946, he pointed out, although profits were higher than in any war year, they were equivalent to only 6 cents per dollar of sales, while in five peace years of comparable production they had averaged 10 cents. However, he admitted that in the first quarter of 1947 earnings were 8.26 per cent of sales. Projecting the figures over the whole year and allowing for the recent wage increase, returns at least as good as in 1946 seem to be indicated.

In the midst of all the talk about the cold arithmetic of steel a young man rose and reminded the stockholders of the human investment on which their profits depended. Announcing that he represented several stockholders and 4,000 employees, Samuel Neff told the story of a steel community under sentence of death. Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, is a one-industry town with 4,000 of its 15,000 inhabitants employed by the National Tube Company, a subsidiary of United States Steel. Some time ago the directors of the corporation decided to abandon this plant and transfer its business to Gary, Indiana, and Lorain, Ohio. Workers were offered jobs at these places but not transportation or housing. With restrained eloquence Mr. Neff showed how tragic this forced migration would be for the people of Ellwood City, 80 per cent of whom own their homes. The Steel Workers' Union, he said, had offered to cooperate with management in reducing costs but had been told that "the die was cast and nothing could change the situation." Nevertheless, he was appealing to the directors and stockholders to show that Big Steel was more than a "soulless corporation."

Mr. Olds replied with a proposal for a conference between Mr. Neff and the corporation's president, Benjamin F. Fairless, but offered no hope of reprieve. Ellwood City, he indicated, was a victim of progress: the plant was obsolete, and it was more economic to rebuild nearer the market for its products.

The 200 stockholders present had listened quietly to Mr. Neff's moving appeal. But they seemed anxious to forget the specter he had raised, and a few minutes later they were laughing at the feeble jokes and applauding the invective of a stockholder who in a rambling and often incoherent speech denounced unions and urged "collective bargaining for stockholders." Then they adjourned for pie. It would have been more appropriate, it seemed to me, to have closed the meeting with another prayer—for Ellwood City.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Children of Light

COMMUNITAS: MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD AND WAYS OF LIFE.
By Percival and Paul Goodman. The University of Chicago Press. \$6.

ACCORDING to the best authority, that is, the blurb, Paul Goodman's work is "a ballet of ideas." His brother Percival is an architect with a special dislike of (American) efficiency. They squabble fraternally, both "hopped up with benzedrine." Out of their tussle emerges a synthesis worthy of Hegel himself, to the surprise and awe of the modest authors.

Frankly, the book is a circus, although soberness itself compared with some of Le Corbusier's. But I like circuses far better than I like bread. There is one paramount issue today: planning or chaos—with war as an unhappy medium. The Goodman brothers believe in planning, city planning, community planning. They are among the Children of Light.

They believe also in "surplus technology." In the United States, undoubtedly. I do not believe that the world as a whole has reached that point. Nor will it reach it if India and China keep pressing hard against the limit of subsistence. Malthus has been abundantly sneered at but not refuted.

There is a good summary of modern plans, liberal enough not to damn Sitte and his cult of the picturesque plaza, daring enough to consider the Radiant City, the Voisin Plan, antiquated. The brothers' own plan is arresting. In the center a cylinder a mile in radius, twenty stories high; rail and bus terminals in the basement, shopping and amusements on the first seven floors, light industries on the next six, offices on the last seven; an airport on top; hotels on the six-mile ribbed outer wall. Then a mile-wide ring for the university—rather a formidable campus. Beyond, residential quarters, arranged in squares which are complete home communities. Naturally, the scheme is only a "paradigm," as they call it. It has points.

Their sociological pattern is sim-

plicity itself. Instead of pump priming, subsidies, relief, and all the devious ways of a mixed economy, let's frankly make minimum subsistence in food, clothing, and shelter a community responsibility. With modern technology these essential needs could be satisfied with a small fraction of mankind's total effort. All the spare time, all the unspent energy, could be devoted to luxury, where private enterprise would have a magnificent field. Dare we face the possibility of allowing men to die of hunger or cold? No. Then we might adopt the Goodman idea: on a sure communistic foundation rear as splendid a capitalistic edifice as you please. This, I am afraid, is a little too sane to appeal to our present rulers. All that they will see, in this witch-hunting season, is that "Communitas" has no fewer than eight letters in common with communism. The illustrations offer a blend of William Blake, the blueprint, and the comic strip that I found very attractive.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Southern Pastiche

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH. By Howard W. Odum. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

HOWARD W. ODUM has now attempted a non-academic recapitulation of his scholarly contributions to the study of the South's malaise. Mr. Odum for many years directed the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina; his "Southern Regions" is an indispensable work in the literature of Southern regionalism, a school of which he has long been a leading figure.

The scope of "The Way of the South" is broad. Mr. Odum opens with a survey of Southern resources, briefly reviews Southern historical development, reexamines the "glory of the Old South," and so proceeds to a discussion of surviving Southern folkways, the position of the Negro, politics below the Mason and Dixon Line, and the resurgence, as he sees it, of North-South animosity since the early thirties. He

winds up with a fairly technical analysis of the kinds of planning necessary for the full regional development of the South.

As a recapitulation the book must of course stand on its presentation of largely familiar material. It is precisely on this score that "The Way of the South" does its author a disservice. It mixes history and sociology, rhapsody and catalogue, impressionism and scholarly abstraction, in a totally unreadable pastiche. Explaining in his final section (headed Postscript and Preface) his own conception of the book, Mr. Odum writes:

If we have mixed the swing and rhythm of "Rainbow Round My Shoulder," "Wings on My Feet," and "Cold Blue Moon" [three novels by Mr. Odum] with the hard reality of regional development and social theory, this still reflects the mixtures of . . . "what all sights, North, South, East, and West, are," to recall again the universalism of Walt Whitman.

Unfortunately it recalls much more immediately the sententious double-talk of Norman Corwin's radio scripts. A good many pages of the opening section are given over to listing names: trees, fruits, nuts, rivers, flowers ("Of the families of . . ."), mammals ("There was the order of . . ."), birds ("Call the roll of other birds"), and so on. The generous doses of quotations include a number from Mr. Odum's own novels. This kind of thing can be effective if it is done with taste and, particularly, restraint—although even so it is more appropriate to sound track or radio delivery; here it breaks the back of what would in any case have been an uneasy, gnarled style.

Mr. Odum's principal point, that the problems of the South must be tackled with the fact of the South's basic regional differences from the rest of the country as a basic motivation, is one which very few serious Northern or Southern students would now care to dispute. On the subject of reawakened hostility between the North and South he is disappointingly sketchy.

W. J. GOLD

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Resistance in the Third Reich

GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND. By Allen Welsh Dulles. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

MR. DULLES tells some thrilling stories in "Germany's Underground"—tales of daring conspiracies, of plots for assassination, and the weird accidents which brought them to naught. It is a book of facts, but of facts far more strange and exciting than the fictions invented by writers of mystery stories.

During the war Mr. Dulles was chief of the OSS mission in Switzerland charged with getting in touch with Hitler's enemies inside Germany. The material in his book is drawn from that experience. It is fascinating in its own right, but its principal significance lies in the fact that it confutes the experts who were so certain that practically all Germans were Nazis and that no resistance comparable to that of Frenchmen, Poles, or Norwegians existed or was to be expected in the Third Reich. Mr. Dulles's report not only proves the experts were wrong but also provokes the bitter reflection that V-Day might have come much sooner and cost much less in terms of blood, destruction, and post-war problems if Germany's underground had been recognized in time and had received the help accorded to the resistance in other countries.

Given his observation post, Mr. Dulles was not in a position to know much about the "unknown soldiers" in Germany's underground—the obscure and unimportant people who risked their lives doing the small things they were able to do: distributing leaflets, slowing down the work in war factories, helping Jews and foreign slave workers. He learned a great deal about the identity, the opinions, the plans and actions of another group, formed and led by conservative elements—army generals, high officials, civil servants—which continuously plotted the overthrow of Hitler. He reveals that Goerdeler, former lord mayor of Leipzig, and General Beck, former chief of staff of the German army, made serious attempts to liberate Germany from the Nazi regime long before the war started—and continued their attempts until both were killed.

One plan for getting rid of Hitler and preventing the war was set for execu-

tion in the days of the Czechoslovakian crisis. A military putsch had been prepared. At the crucial hour news came that Chamberlain and Daladier were on their way to Munich, and the orders were not given. After the attack on Norway the conspirators tried to ascertain the intentions of the Western powers in the event of a successful military putsch against Hitler. "An ambiguous, non-committal answer arrived," Mr. Dulles reports, "just as the offensive in the west began."

Plans for Hitler's arrest or assassination were made and tried, one after another, and on several occasions the

Führer was saved only by the merest chance. The climax came with the dramatic putsch of June 20, 1944. Again through a chain of curious accidents Hitler survived. Very few of the conspirators escaped.

No doubt Germany's underground, though not lacking in heroism, owed its defeat as much to its own weaknesses as to the refusal of the Western powers to accept Germans as allies against the Nazis. Nevertheless, the resistance movement inside Germany did have some practical value. It appears for instance that the Intelligence Division of the German High Command, led by Ad-

Bathsheba's Lament in the Garden

Baring the mares'-nests that the pigeons set
To tangle with the wood-winds of the North,
October blows to wood . . . the fourth
Since David broke our vows
And married Abishag to warm him. Cold!
The pigeons bluer with it, since we met
Beside the lion-fountain, and unrolled
The tackle of our model boats. Our prows
Were sworded as the marlin, and they locked,
Clearing the mallards' grotto, half a mile
Up pond—and founded; and our splashing mocked
The lion's wrinkled brow. My Love, a little while,

The lion frothed into the basin . . . all,
Water to water—water that begets
A child from water. And the jets
That washed our bodies drowned
The curses of Uriah when he died
For David; still a stranger! *Not-at-all*,
We called him, after the withdrawing tide
Of Joab's armor-bearers slew him, and he found
Jehovah, the whale's belly of the pit.
He is the childless, the unreconciled
Master of darkness. Will Uriah sit
And judge? You nod and babble. But, you are a child;

At last, a child—what we were playing, when
We blew our bubbles at the moon, and fought
Like brothers, and the lion caught
The moonbeams in its jaws.
The harvest moon, earth's friend, that cared so much
For us and cared so little, comes again;
Always a stranger! Farther from my touch,
The mountains of the moon . . . whatever claws
The harp-strings with your chalky fingers. Cold
The eyelid drooping on the lion's eye
Of David, child of God. But I am old;
God is ungirded; open! I must surely die.

ROBERT LOWELL

miral Canaris, was honeycombed with bitter enemies of National Socialism. "Certain key members deliberately falsified secret reports to deceive Hitler . . . and crossed some of Hitler's most important and diabolical plans."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Dulles's book will be widely read—though one can hardly expect that it will be recommended by those experts whose mistakes it reveals. JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

THE SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS underscore the tragic homelessness of the Jewish people

Zionism seeks to put an end to the centuries old practice of making the Jews a scapegoat for all ills at the hands of demagogues and tyrants.

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Taxes and Policy

TAXATION FOR PROSPERITY. By Randolph E. Paul. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$4.

THE place of taxation in full-employment policy is discussed with intelligence and common sense by Randolph E. Paul, former general counsel and tax expert of the Treasury Department.

During the 1930's economists who accepted the theory of Lord Keynes that government fiscal policy should be used to stabilize business cycles placed primary emphasis on the expansion or contraction of spending for public works. In 1932, when United States internal revenue was only about \$1,500,000,000, lowering the tax rate would not have had any pronounced effect on purchasing power, even if it had been politically possible.

But with government revenues in excess of \$40,000,000,000 for the current fiscal year—almost equal to the 1932 national income—the situation is very different. If there should be a serious threat of depression, judicious tax reduction could increase spendable income in the lower brackets, where it is most needed, faster and more efficiently than any other device.

As soon as the facts are stated, it becomes obvious that tax policy must be fully integrated with public-works planning and social security in any well-rounded full-employment program. Mr. Paul writes with full acceptance of this premise.

He does not, however, suggest that tax adjustment is the panacea for all our ills, and he recognizes that an ideal tax system is unattainable. Even if there were no other difficulty, it is always undesirable to change the base of taxation too abruptly. Sudden changes may provide windfalls for some businesses and individuals, while bringing unforeseeable disaster to others. Substantial readjustment of individual income-tax rates, especially the raising or lowering of individual exemptions to counterbalance deflation or inflation, is fair and sound. But changes in corporation, inheritance, and excise taxes usually raise as many perplexing problems as they solve.

Most of Mr. Paul's book, therefore, is devoted to a history and explanation

of the existing tax structure. He points to many evils and inequalities, and recommends a considerable number of changes. At the same time he recognizes that anyone who has made long-range plans in relation to current taxes is entitled to expect no arbitrary or capricious shift. Short of a complete economic revolution, sound tax policy must always start with the current situation, including the cumulative effect of past actions. To take one example from the book, there is something to be said for the proposal—indorsed by Leon Henderson, among others—to eliminate corporation taxes except on undivided profits and depend entirely upon the individual income tax. However, it is extremely difficult to make such a change in a way which would be fair to the man who sold common stock the day before it was announced, and to recapture the windfall from the buyer.

In a long section on corporation taxes Mr. Paul discusses most of the current suggestions for a new policy and concludes that continuation of a fairly high corporate tax rate is a lesser evil than anything else which has been proposed.

Another phase of the problem is the idea of special benefits for small business. From the point of view of national economic health there is considerable justification for regulating taxes in such a way as to help new businesses to get started. But there is no real justification for subsidy on the basis of size—particularly since a small business in steel would be a big business in textiles—and it is not easy to reduce the tax burden for a new enterprise without giving it an unfair advantage over its competitors.

Tax avoidance and tax evasion offer equally serious complications, since a choice must be made between allowing some loopholes and writing tax laws and regulations so detailed that enforcement is virtually impossible, making the penalty in paper work required of honest firms greater than the value of collections from the dishonest. It is also too much to expect that loopholes will not occasionally slip by Congress, as in the case of depletion allowances for oil and gas wells, which have sometimes given more tax remission than the original investment, while the wells are still producing.

"Tax honest achieve read. E semi-p requires final co in a de read it, to unde So it can and the broad p voters o This is book fo interested and the suade th practical After LADY 1916- son. T IN TH be fo ple (ne would n else—Sh "AE," C all those English liveliest Yet the report, are, ever 1919, ex tries, and energy w covering things w oty soun ing fai however editor, L the entr Coole, th the Terri the Risin Lane Pic Robinson serving d self.) Th role in a mated fr

May 17, 1947

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"Taxation for Prosperity" is too honest to be dogmatic about the way to achieve a sound tax system. It is easy to read. But the fact that an intelligent, semi-popular discussion of tax problems requires 418 pages and does not reach final conclusions raises a puzzling question as to the development of tax policy in a democracy. Only a few voters will read it, and voters cannot be expected to understand the whole tax structure. So it can only be hoped that the experts and the politicians will present the broad principles in such a way that the voters can make an intelligent choice. This is, at least, an excellent guidebook for the layman who is sufficiently interested to check up on the experts and the politicians. It might also persuade the professionals to face a few practical problems.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Aftermath of Excitement

LADY GREGORY'S JOURNALS, 1916-1930. Edited by Lennox Robinson. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

IN THE pages of these journals will be found mention of all those people (nearly all; not Joyce) whom we would rather read about than anybody else—Shaw, Yeats, Synge, O'Casey, "AE," Gogarty, Stephens, and the rest, all those people whose writing in the English language was the brightest and liveliest we have known in our time. Yet these journals, it is sad to have to report, are not particularly exciting, are, even, rather dull; they begin in 1919, except for one or two earlier entries, and by that time the devotion and energy were employed in keeping or recovering; the bold wit that started things was worn down, and Lady Gregory sounds like a tired old lady, trudging faithfully where she may once, however sedately, have danced. The editor, Lennox Robinson, has grouped the entries under several headings: Coole, the Abbey Theater, Politics (but the Terror and the Civil War only, not the Rising), Persons and Books, the Lane Pictures, Odds and Ends. (Mr. Robinson has been scrupulous in preserving disparaging remarks about himself.) The importance of Lady Gregory's role in all this activity cannot be estimated from what she tells here of her

actions in picking up the pieces; nor could her ability as a writer be determined from the prose style of the journals: was she always, maybe, a little too serious and earnest? One flash of impatience, at least, has a delightful combination of wit and malice in its exasperation: "Mrs. MacSwiggan (an actress in the Abbey Theater), Mrs. MacSwiggan, being English, has no respect for words and hits with extraordinary perversity on the wrong one to accentuate in each sentence."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Young Holmes

TOUCHED WITH FIRE: Civil War Letters and Diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., 1861-1864. Edited by Mark DeWolfe Howe. Harvard University Press. \$3.

ON THE whole these letters are dull. They no doubt have a value for historians and for students of the Justice's career and the Civil War's military history; and for long-time Bostonians. But the reader who is not a specialist will resent having to plow through so much that is insignificant to find so little that is interesting. The letters to his family and the diary fragments are the briefest of battlefield notes. Yet they seldom contain a sense of the battlefield—to communicate this is an artist's work. Moreover, the notes were written—and the editor has transcribed them—in Holmes's hurried shorthand. Again, historians will appreciate this; the general reader will not. The editor's lengthy footnotes also are largely uninteresting except to Bostonians.

A rather curious thing about these jottings is that Holmes really made and preserved them *for historians*. "Keep all letters that are at all historical," he cautions his parents. And Mr. Howe reveals that the true editor of the collection was Holmes himself—that the Justice destroyed certain letters and pieces of the diary which he did not want preserved. This sense of history is part of a sharp consciousness of role which the aristocrat Holmes had as a young man.

In "Touched with Fire" this self-consciousness appears chiefly in a sense of duty and honor. Besides these aris-

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APPLETON-CENTURY

tocratic values Holmes unfortunately also had a good bit of upper-class intellectual snobbism. "While I'm living *en aristocrat* I'm an out-and-outer of a democrat in theory, but for contact, except at the polls, I loathe the thick-fingered clowns we call the people—especially as the beasts are represented at political centers." (A stay in Washington—"that modern Gomorrah"—was the occasion of this outburst.)

Allied with his aristocratic sense of duty is Holmes's relation to his father, which is easily the book's greatest source of interest. Two of the letters to his father are downright boastful: after complaining about the "blowing" of others, he writes—"I really very much doubt whether there is any Reg't wh. can compare with ours in the Army of the Potomac." It is obvious that he strongly wanted his father to know that he "had done his duty." And, in fact, he had—with distinction.

But in 1864, when nearly all his early fellow-officers had been killed or wounded and he himself had suffered several wounds, he decided not to re-enlist after the disbandment of his regiment. He felt—and doctors confirmed—that his strength was no longer equal to the burden of active campaigning. He "didn't any longer believe in this being a duty," he wrote. It does not become clear whether this change in belief was due simply to his personal condition, to his view of the war, or to the fact that after three years of fighting he had become a man in his own eyes, with no further need to prove himself one to his father.

DAVID T. BAZELON

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Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE influence of Paul Klee has had, in the past ten years or so, a more immediately rewarding effect upon contemporary painting than that of Matisse, Picasso, or Miro, who are all greater than he. The latest evidence of this has come, surprisingly enough, from Paris, which in contrast with England and this country had until recently shown an indifference to Klee. The only new Parisian painters of any originality to be exhibited in New York since the war—Dubuffet and now Victor Brauner—are both products of his school. Brauner, Rumanian and surrealist, used to turn out neo-academic pictures of tables with wolf's legs and heads and human testicles. Judging by the ten or twelve of his more recent paintings shown at Julien Levy's last month, he has undergone a remarkable transformation since 1939—that is why I call him a new painter. His old canvases revealed a glimmering of some sort of obscured talent and the presence of a perverted sincerity; he was irrelevant but, unlike most other surrealists, he was irrelevant in an affecting way. Now, however, he has produced some actually good painting which, if it is less important than Dubuffet's as statement and manifestation, is not inferior in intrinsic quality.

Brauner's new paintings and tinted drawings are done in wax, which he was forced to use because of a shortage of oil colors during the war. This medium compels a flatter and tighter handling and excludes the broad modeling that oil invites. Brauner has abandoned his former smoky effects for a flat-patterned, ornamental, emblematic kind of painting that clings as closely to the picture surface as inlay work—which indeed it resembles. He also demonstrates an entirely unexpected inventiveness as a draftsman, an inventiveness that has nothing to do with the usual surrealism but stems directly, more directly than his color, from Klee.

Brauner, coming after Dubuffet, Mark Tobey, and Morris Graves, raises more sharply than ever the question why Klee's influence should be so much more immediately fructifying than Picasso's whose influence has certainly been greater in extent and more pervasive. Here is a former third-rater who now, suddenly, is well on the way to becoming accepted as an important painter.

native under Klee's tutelage, and there are five or six others like him abroad in the world; whereas of those who follow Picasso closely, hardly one—not Graham Sutherland in England or Pignon and the other epigones in France—has been able to realize himself half so satisfactorily.

The explanation is both obvious and complex. Picasso's influence carries with it the flavor of a potent personality, and the style he formed for himself, in the later even more than in the earlier stages of cubism, is designed to accommodate that personality. Artists taking his style as a point of departure find it difficult to disentangle themselves of Picasso's personality, difficult to push it out of the way and fill in with their own. Even Picasso himself has since 1925 been largely unable to supply the power and fulness his original style requires and must resort to inflation. Painters with talents self-assured and imperious enough to shape these mighty means to their own ends are in any case very rare. (If Jackson Pollock has been able to profit by Picasso, it is because he has diluted him with Miró and Kandinsky.)

Klee, on the other hand, is a small artist—genuine, enormously original, a master, but nevertheless *diminutive*, working within a restricted range; an interior decorator rather than an architect. His personality, however authentic and intense, does not oppress but rather frees the painter who comes under his influence. If the artist's temperament is a modest one, as is usually the case in a period like ours that drives passionate people away from art, contact with Klee encourages him to release it in sincerity rather than suppress it in imitation. Seeing how much Klee made of relatively little, the aspirant is moved to confess how little he himself has and to make the most of that little. While Picasso tempts one to inflate and distend himself and deny weaknesses, Klee invites one to tell all—work your brushpoint idly over the surface, let it be a seismograph that answers every tremor in yourself: invent, invent.

Picasso asks you to construct rather than invent, to survey the terrain of your emotion more consciously and build upon it the largest and most substantial edifice possible—not, like Klee, to send up demountable tracery and momentary mists of color. This does not mean that Picasso is more "intellectual" or deliberate than Klee; he works, in fact, faster than Klee did, and with less meditation. It is simply that he sees the picture as a wall where Klee sees it as a page, and

when one paints a wall one has to have a more comprehensive awareness of the surroundings and a more immediate sense of architectural discipline—though Klee's sense in that respect, if slighter in scale, should not be discounted.

It is the old difference between Nordic and Mediterranean. Klee's influence has been reinforced by the fact that the centers of artistic production having moved northward—even within France itself—fewer new artists appear whose native milieux instill temperamental affinities with Picasso's positive, public, monumental style. Klee's private lyricism is more sympathetic to those who come from industrial countries, where the effort to assert a private life of emotion displaces the ambition to externalize and to synthesize a total view of the world.

Yet the doubt persists whether Klee's art, as compared with the still unexploited potentialities of the cubist heritage, has enough carrying power to support a school of major importance. I myself would say that even the earlier abstract painting of Kandinsky provides a firmer *point d'appui*. So far none of the products of the Klee school has been able to do more than make an original initial statement of his personality and then stop short, with nowhere else to go. Witness Graves and Tobey. And Klee himself, in the last decade of his life, found that his means were no longer adequate to express what he still had to say. Therefore one awaits Dubuffet's and Brauner's next moves with pessimism—less warranted perhaps in the case of Dubuffet since he has more bravado than is usual with Klee's disciples.

Music

E. H.
HAGGIN

FORM and analysis seminars have one useful purpose, at least," wrote this column's favorite correspondent, and my most recent source of information about the way music is taught in the universities. "Nobody who spends his time in one of them actually analyzing pieces of music will ever be dogmatic about form again." That is the exaggeration of youth: aged sobriety would say that nobody *should*. "I have been amazed at the variations which Mozart, the 'most formal of composers,' can produce: structures perfectly logical in their organization, perfectly cap-

able of saying what he wants to say, yet impossible to cram into any textbook form. The people in the seminar, when they began to hit these spots (in terms of the textbook) naturally first tried to do just that; but as they progressed they discovered that the spots were more frequent than the 'normal' forms; and the result has been frustration: the terminology has broken down, and that's always a bad thing for the student mind—it means he has lost his anchor."

This was a seminar; in the classes below seminar-level students are not confused in this way. It would seem axiomatic that ideas about music should be derived from experience of the music; but the students in theory classes do not normally get their ideas of musical language and form from first-hand

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examination of the language and forms of the works of the great composers: they get them from the textbooks of theorists "whose grammatical knowledge," said Tovey, "is based upon no known language."

Nor is this true only of the teaching of theory. In a course in history in which, my correspondent tells me, exactly one meeting was devoted to the English madrigal and lute schools—not to the music of one composer, but to the entire varied output of all the composers—and two meetings to the entire eighteenth-century comic opera, there is no time for the deriving of ideas from the music itself. "I made the mistake of looking into the subject of eighteenth-century comic opera, and it was two weeks before I was able to get out of it again. All this past week I have been going hammer and tongs at the Italian and English madrigal schools, so that I am now about to be familiar enough with enough of the music to feel that I know something about it; but in the meantime the history class is heaven knows where—I don't."

Most of the members of that class presumably have acquired a "knowledge" of the English madrigal and lute schools consisting of a series of names in their notebooks, each name with a sentence or two of description and evaluation copied out of a book or taken down in class. My correspondent, on the other hand, has derived from his experience of the music his own ideas and estimates of the various composers, which have led him to suspect that some of those descriptions and evaluations in books and lectures were themselves not acquired from experience of the music.

His reward for his work, he writes, has been his discovery of the music of Dowland—"the most famous of the English lutenist song composers: and for once it is a fully deserved reputation"—and Gesualdo. "Historically, Gesualdo is one of those rare and fascinating individuals, a sport"—which "makes him difficult to handle if you are writing history in terms of trends;" and so he was long ignored. "But even more interesting than the fact that he stands outside of his time is the fact that he wrote great music: of its sort some of the most powerful I have ever heard." And "it is a matter of history (Grove, II, P. 373) that the ten volumes of his works went through not less than 25 different editions between 1594 and 1626, one of them, the third

book of 5-part madrigals being reprinted five times. Consequently it is not surprising that Lang concludes ('Music in Western Civilization,' p. 327): 'Many, if not the majority, of Gesualdo's madrigals must, however, be considered closet madrigals, because their frightful, ragged, unvocal writing makes their performance by a vocal ensemble well-nigh impossible.' That they are hard to sing cannot be doubted; that they are possible to sing is quite as obvious; that Gesualdo's contemporaries sang them is fully demonstrated by the bibliographical record: why does Lang have to manufacture a myth? All this colorful patter about 'frightful, ragged, unvocal writing' is a bald-faced fabrication which an examination of the madrigals disproves in a moment: I have found in them a rare diminished fourth, and occasionally a diminished fifth—which even sight-singing students are taught to sing, and which constitute the 'frightful, ragged, unvocal writing.'

Then, "Einstein is perhaps even more renowned for his studies in the madrigal than for his Mozart studies. Consequently, in his 'Short History of Music,' it is not amazing to find that all he has to say about Gesualdo (and Marenzio also, for that matter) is (p. 60) that 'Rore initiated a chromaticism which . . . in the compositions of Luca Marenzio and Gesualdo da Venosa was to lead to extremes of daring—but not based upon clear harmonic perception and hence not fully absorbed by the main stream of development.' Of the four madrigals of Marenzio that my correspondent has been able to examine only one—printed in Schering's 'History of Music in Examples'—has a section that is markedly chromatic; "and all the modulations in this passage are either an applied dominant-to-tonic relation or an alteration of major and minor mode, while in addition one progression exhibits the essential features of what would now be called a modulating sequence. I am under the delusion that all these (a) demonstrate clear harmonic perception, and (b) have since been absorbed by the main stream of development." And on the other hand "Gesualdo's chromaticism was not based on the major-minor, tonic-dominant relationships which ultimately prevailed: why should it have been? But to claim that it is not based on clear harmonic perception is to deny the evidence of one's ears: in every example I have been able to run down

it always comes off—provided one is not so hog-tied by tonic-dominant prejudice that one can't hear it for what it is."

But on examination papers—in answer to the question "Discuss the following: (a) Gesualdo . . ."—students who haven't heard a note of his music will write: "His extreme chromaticism was not based upon clear harmonic perception and hence not fully absorbed by the main stream of development. The frightful, ragged, unvocal writing in his madrigals makes their performance by a vocal ensemble almost impossible."

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Letters to the Editors

The Soviet Tartars

Dear Sirs: In the second part of his *Britain Without Empire* (*The Nation*, April 12), Mr. Laski says: "But there is good reason for assuming that we could do in Malaya a great work patterned upon the remarkable achievements of Soviet Russia with its national minorities, notably with the Tartar Republic."

As an expert on Russia, Mr. Laski ought to have known that the Tartar Republic as well as a few others were liquidated during the war for "disloyalty" to the Soviet government. The majority of the populations of the liquidated regions have been exiled to Siberia.

MARKOOSHA FISCHER

New York, April 30

[According to *Soviet Russia Today*, the Tartars in the U. S. S. R. have been mainly concentrated in two sections of the country, the Middle Volga and the Crimea. The Tartar Autonomous Republic on the Volga, which has a popula-

tion of over 3,000,000, was not liquidated nor were its inhabitants deported. The other large settlement of Tartars was in the Crimea, where about one-fourth of the 1,132,360 inhabitants were Tartars. When the Germans occupied the Crimea, says *Soviet Russia Today*, "many of the Crimean Tartars succumbed to their propaganda and aided the enemy. After the liberation of the Crimea . . . the Crimean A. S. S. R. was demoted from the status of an Autonomous Republic to that of an Autonomous Region, and the Crimean Tartars were sent away." — EDITORS THE NATION.]

Spears, who quite recently defended the Mufti.

Furthermore, the most vociferous supporters of the "Arab cause" are to be found among the Arab Christians, who form less than 10 per cent of the Arab population of Palestine. At every turn you find Arab Christians of Palestine in the forefront of the struggle. Even the Palestine Arab Higher Committee is guided by Arab Christians: Mr. Ghouri, the spokesman of the Palestinian delegation, is a Christian. The *Palastin* of Jaffa and many other newspapers edited by Christian Arabs have printed the most poisonous and vitriolic diatribes against the Jews.

The Lebanese Moslems also are playing the game of the Arab League against the majority of the Christians of the Lebanon, represented by the Maronite Patriarch and the Archbishop of Beirut, who on several occasions have expressed their sympathy for the Jews of Palestine.

The allegation of Mr. Ghouri, in his letter of May 5 addressed to the United Nations, that "the Arabs have never recognized the Mandate over Palestine or any act or body deriving from it" does not coincide with the facts. Emir Feisal, later King of Iraq, was acknowledged by the British government and the Allied and Associated Nations of the First World War to be the official spokesman of all Arab countries, including Palestine, and he officially recognized the Balfour Declaration.

At that time the Mandate was opposed by only a few Arabs—some of the Husseini, the family of the Mufti, and some members of the Abd Al-Hadi, a family of great landlords near Nablus.

The Palestine Arab Higher Committee has no right to claim recognition as representative of the Arabs in Palestine; it cannot be compared with the Jewish Agency, which has an international legal status.

The British army deserves a better fate than to be the tool of Bevin and Attlee in suppressing the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine. And the British people, who have always protected the minorities of other countries against violence and injustice, would act differently if they were told the truth about the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine.

A. S. YAHUDA,

Professor, the New School for Social Research

New York, May 8

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May 17, 1947

Our Marxist President

Dear Sirs: As you know, aid to Greece is intended to prevent the spread of Communist ideology, of which, according to the Truman Doctrine, misery is the carrier. This doctrine is, I regret to say, subconscious Marxism. It was in his introduction to "Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie" that Marx, some eighty years ago, established the theory that the political system is merely the superstructure of economic conditions. According to his *Verelendungstheorie*, the inevitable concentration of capital will eventually result in expropriating the expropriators, that is, in socialism.

There can be no doubt that our distinguished President plans to employ this theory in reverse. In his view the menace of communism can be averted by alleviating the poverty of the Greek people. This subconscious Marxist apparently does not believe in the power of ideas, or, as they are now called in this country, "philosophies." If he seriously wishes to counterbalance the "red menace"—and not merely to set Anglo-American imperialism against Russian imperialism—he should offer not only \$250,000,000 but an *ideology* which appeals as strongly to the imagination of the masses as that of Marx and Lenin did. Unfortunately the ideology of "free competition" is negative and therefore insufficient. Administering a rebuff to communism is no substitute for a positive and hopeful idea. However, Mr. Truman and his fellow-travelers are so deeply imbued with their subconscious though erroneous Marxism that they believe they can stop communism merely by feeding the proletarian descendants of Plato and Aristotle.

An ideological alternative to communism was of course offered by Senator Vandenberg, when in his answer to Gromyko he spoke of the "conflict between communism and democracy." But even a high-school graduate should know that communism is an *economic* concept, democracy a *political* or at most a *social* one. Therefore they are not true equivalents.

I think Truman and his fellow-travelers in their ideological vacuum are adherents of Schiller:

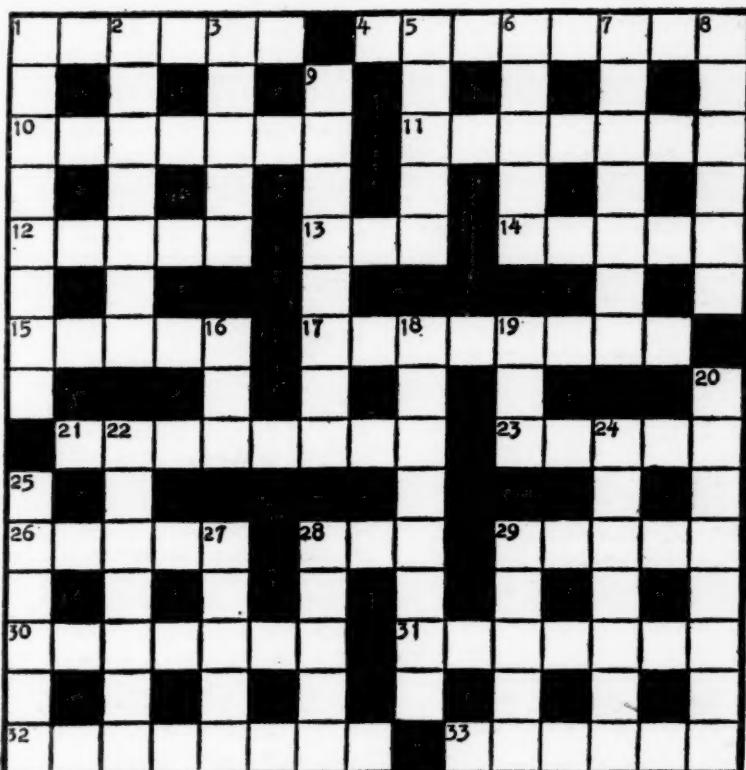
Bis einst Philosophie die Welt
im Innersten zusammenhält,
erhält sich ihr Getriebe
durch Hunger und durch Liebe.

HERBERT JAMES

New York, April 8

Crossword Puzzle No. 212

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Talk by a player
- 4 A lark
- 10 I've the instruments to write with, and hope to be getting the thoughts
- 11 They give out or not, as the case may be
- 12 Not the way the Germans spell the river
- 13 Service of the stick
- 14 Girl in novels I enjoy
- 15 Provide for
- 17 Seen Ross? (anag.)
- 21 Resounding call to organize, sir
- 23 The Mock Turtle might associate this with the helping hand
- 26 He backed the wrong horse
- 28 A Spanish queen
- 29 "He lives to build, not ----, a generous race; No tenth transmitter of a foolish face"
- 30 Eyed
- 31 Her gout is harder to bear
- 32 Its battlements were haunted
- 33 Bad oar in a boat

DOWN

- 1 Useful for one who decides to give smoking a rest
- 2 Be fast and furious (3 & 4)
- 3 The upper crust
- 5 No demand for plums

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 211

ACROSS:—1 CORNERS; 5 MORBING; 9 ALPHA; 10 TNT; 11 GATES; 12 BLEACH; 15 KIMONO; 16 HOLDING; 17 REED; 19 SWAN; 21 ATHLETE; 22 STUD; 23 GRID; 25 CLATTER; 27 AVENUE; 29 DARIEN; 33 GLUCK; 34 COL; 35 OPERA; 36 RATIONS; 37 CANDLES.

DOWN:—1 CLAMBER; 2 RUPEE; 3 EP-ARCH; 4 SITS; 5 MATE; 6 BIGWIG; 7 INTRO; 8 GOSSON; 13 HOSTILE; 14 ODD LOTS; 15 KNOTTED; 18 EMU; 20 WAR; 22 STAGGER; 24 DENIALS; 25 CUCKOO; 26 RACCOON; 28 EXULT; 30 IDEAL; 31 ICES; 32 ALEC.

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